

McGhee
455



Sultan Mehmed II, the Conqueror

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George Crews Mc Ghee
United States Ambassador
to Turkey

THE
L I F E
OF
A L I P A C H A,
OF JANNINA,
LATE VIZIER OF EPIRUS,
SURNAMED
Aslan, or the Lion.

INCLUDING A COMPENDIOUS HISTORY OF
MODERN GREECE.

SECOND EDITION,
WITH CONSIDERABLE ALTERATIONS AND ADDITIONS.

ILLUSTRATED WITH A MAP AND PLATES.

“ In marble-paved pavilion, where a spring
Of living water from the centre rose,
Whose bubbling did a genial freshness fling,
And soft voluptuous couches breathed repose,
ALI reclined,—a man of war and woes;
Yet in his lineaments ye cannot trace,
While gentleness her milder radiance throws
Along that aged venerable face,
The deeds that lurk beneath, and stain him with disgrace.
Lord Byron's Child Harold, Canto II. Stanza 62.

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ALI PACHA.
late Vizier of Constantinople.

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Sketch of the appearance of ALI PACHA, affixed to a Bouyardoon granted to Theophilus Ric.

PREFACE

TO THE SECOND EDITION.

BIOGRAPHY has ever been justly esteemed the most interesting, as well as the most instructive branch of literature. While the historian delights us with profundity of reflection, the poet with the charms of numbers, the wit with brilliancy of imagination, and the novelist with interesting situations, the biographer, by an impartial display of the virtues and failings of our nature, arrests our undivided attention, and instructs us how to imitate the one, and how to avoid the other. But great as may be the interest of biography in general, it becomes irresistible when the subject of the memoir has been contempora-

neous with ourselves, and has (if we may be allowed the figure) formed a link near our own in the great chain of human existence; for it is then that we feel ourselves more deeply affected by the contemplation of actions, the effects of which have influenced, and perhaps may still influence, our own happiness. If the justice of these reflections be admitted, but little apology will be required for presenting the public with the life of a man who, whether considered as a political adventurer, or a private individual, may be ranked among the wonders of the present age.

As a political character, Ali Pacha, notwithstanding his distance from the centre of European politics, has succeeded in making his name famous, by identifying it with events which now excite the most intense interest. It has been observed, that extraordinary times produce extraordinary men; but the converse is true with regard to Ali, if to him may be attributed the present glorious struggle of the Greeks for liberty and independence.

As an individual, the Vizier of Epirus, while

he raises our horror and indignation at his crimes, astonishes us by the extraordinary energies of a mind at least a century beyond those of his countrymen in intelligence. Some few traits of benevolence are observable; but they are like the oases in the Desert.

Upon a character so strongly marked as that of Ali, any further observations to assist the general reader in forming a true estimate, appear wholly unnecessary; it will be sufficient, in conclusion, to observe that this edition will be found most materially altered from the former, by the introduction of new and recently collected information, as well as by the omission of certain particulars, the inadvertent introduction of which occasioned the former volume to be withdrawn. Although a few words would suffice to explain this matter satisfactorily, it is deemed prudent to pass it over in silence, from a conviction that private disputes are seldom acceptable to the general reader.

For the various communications with which the Editor has been favoured during the progress of his work, he begs leave to return his best

thanks, and to no one more sincerely than to Mr. Theophilus Richards, from whose interesting diary a great proportion of the matter in the following volume has been drawn.

May, 1823.

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ALI PASHA.

of Janina



From the Original, taken on the spot, by Theophilus Richards Junr Esq.

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L. Clark Sculp.

VIEW OF YANNINA.

THE
L I F E
OF
ALI PACHA.

Introduction.—Description of Epirus, or Albania.—The Oracle of Dodona.—Compendium of the History of Epirus.—Neoptolemus.—Pyrrhus.—Destruction of seventy towns by Paulus Æmilius.—Nicopolis founded.—Invasion of Greece by Alaric and Attila.—Ravaged by the Huns and Bulgarians.—Invasion of Greece by the Turks.—Bajazet.—The Turks enter Joannina.—Amurath commands the Albanians to embrace Mahometanism.—Scanderbeg arrests the progress of the Turks.—Concludes a Peace with Mahomet II.—Renewal of the War.—Death of Scanderbeg.—Many Albanians abjure Christianity.—Character of the Albanians.

THE great European celebrity acquired by the late Vizier Ali, Paçha of Joannina, justly entitles that tyrant of *classic ground* to a biographical memoir, in which the fidelity of history shall neither be disfigured by exaggeration, nor compromised by falsehood. Tyranny is of itself sufficiently odious, without its being rendered still more hateful by distortion. The life of a tyrant

such as Ali, may moreover prove an instructive lesson to those nations, who, although living under mild and beneficent laws, are infected with a mania for political revolution; at least it may be useful to shew them, that an abandonment of all principle, and an unrestrained indulgence of the passions, are the certain concomitants of tyranny.

Ali Pacha, whether considered in his elevation or his fall, must be allowed a distinguished place in the history of his contemporaries; but his character, although marked by features the most prominent and decided, would be but ill appreciated, were we to view it independently of the country which gave him birth, the circumstances under which he lived, the government to which he owed his elevation, and the ferocious and warlike habits of the people he was appointed to command. The martial deeds of this veteran are still celebrated by the Albanians, who rank him next to Pyrrhus in military renown. Ali himself was wont to relate, with much self-satisfaction, the manner in which he had risen, from being the chieftain of a clan to the high and important office of Vizier; nor did he pass over the numerous assassinations he had committed. He was enraptured, when he fondly thought he saw himself renewed in a grandson, upon whom he conceived he could not pronounce a finer encomium, than by predicting that this scion of his

race would be like his grandfather—a brave free-booter, the terror of his neighbours and his brethren. At least there was no hypocrisy in the vanity of the modern tyrant of Epirus: such candour is rarely to be met with in conquerors.

The severity of Ali's administration cannot be denied; but it should be observed, that Mahometanism had imparted to the rude and savage manners of the Albanians, or modern Epirotes, the utmost degree of depravity; and hence, when Ali proposed reducing them to order and subjection, he found himself compelled by circumstances to adopt a despotic form of government, and to rule them with a rod of iron. Without having studied Machiavelli, he asserted, that, to be firmly seated on the throne of absolute power, his subordinate instruments must be deprived of all they could call their own, and be entirely dependent upon his will, even for their very existence. How completely does this prove, that, without being reduced to precepts, the first principles of tyranny are to be found in all countries, and in every age.

We shall carefully trace the late Satrap of Epirus through his civil and military career; nor will it be uninteresting to observe how he successively subjugated the various tribes of Albania, solely by his own genius, activity, and valour.

The description of his Court and government, the recital of his exploits and intrigues, the cata-

logue of his crimes and vices, the detail of his political connexions, sometimes with France, sometimes with England, according as his interest dictated; in short, a faithful account of his revolt from, or rather of his proscription by, the Grand Seignior, and of his fall at a period when the attention of entire Europe was fixed upon him, and Greece, (then struggling for its liberty,) will contribute to form a biographical essay perhaps unequalled for variety and interest.

We shall preface it by some preliminary observations upon ancient and modern Epirus, upon the character of its inhabitants, and the revolutions of which, even till our own days, it has been the theatre.

Epirus, now called Albania, is situated on the north-west part of Greece, and extends along the eastern shores of the Adriatic. Macedon bounded it on the east, and Ætolia and the Ionian Sea on the south. Albania is a wild and rugged country, very elevated, of a cold temperature, presenting few plains, but abounding in excellent pasture: its lakes are embedded in mountains, covered with oaks as ancient as the world. The Greek word *Epirus* signifies *continent*, or *terra firma*, and was so called by the Greeks of the Ionian Islands in contradistinction to the country inhabited by themselves. Albania may be considered as an epitome of every climate, as a miniature of the severe regions of the Alps. It extends along the sea-coast for about forty-five leagues, from the

Acroceraunian mountains, to the gulf of Ambra-cia, the modern Arta. Its breadth is from twenty-five to thirty leagues from Cape Chimerium to Pindus. The chain of its mountains, and the level of its valleys, gradually rise from the borders of the Ionian sea, to the superior ridge of Pindus, which geographically separates Epirus from Macedonia and Thessaly. Pindus, so celebrated during the mythological ages, for having been consecrated to the Muses, is now classed among mountains of the second order.

The inhabitants of Epirus ⁽¹⁾ strongly partake of the character of their country: like their mountains, they are rugged and uncultivated; still retaining their ancient reputation, they are distinguished by their great bodily strength, their activity, and their bravery in the field, qualities possessed even by their women. From their simple and primitive mode of life, they may be called the Scythians of the Turkish Empire. The Epirotes are divided into fourteen distinct tribes, of which each has successively obtained the sovereignty.

The part of Epirus first known to the Greeks, was the eastern. There, a few scattered towns replaced the miserable huts in which the Aborigines sustained life by the primeval food of acorns: civilization first commenced among the Threspotes, who were nearest to the sea. The

(1) This and the subsequent notes will be found in the Appendix.

mountains of ancient Threspotia were considered by the Greeks, as the extreme confines of the world, the land of darkness, the region of night, the kingdom of inexorable Pluto. Being situated more to the east, and observing that the sun disappeared daily behind those mountains, they there placed the gloomy mansions of Tartarus, the abodes of the damned. There also was the Acheronian marsh, now known as the valley of Oraco, whence the fearful and awe-inspiring streams of Cocytus and Acheron rolled their black and fatal waves. Nothing now remains of all their former terrors, unless it be that their waters are occasionally muddy and infectious. To the east of the Threspotes were the Molossi, a warlike people, settled near Dodona, so famous for the oracle built there by the Pelasgi. This was at first a simple rustic temple, erected in the open air, consecrated to the Dodonian Jove, and surrounded by oaks, from which the prophetic sounds proceeded. There was also another oracle which consisted of large brazen kettles suspended in the air, near a brazen statue which held a lash in its hand. When the wind blew strong, the statue was agitated, and struck against one of the kettles, which communicating the motion to all the rest, raised that clattering and discordant din, from which the priests drew their predictions. Multitudes repaired hither from all parts of Greece, to consult the

famous oak consecrated to Jupiter, which predicted the future, and which was considered the most ancient of all known trees. The oracles were delivered by doves (2) perched upon its branches.

Neoptolemus, the son of Achilles, having possessed himself of the country, became the head of a numerous race of kings called the Pyrrhidæ, Pyrrhus having been the name of Neoptolemus during his youth, and afterwards given by him to his eldest son. The princes who succeeded him having relapsed into barbarism, their exploits and power remain buried in profound obscurity. The first of whom history makes any mention is called by Plutarch, Tarrutas, and by Pausanias, Tarypus. It is not to him, but to Aribbas, his grandson, that Justin attributes the civilization of the Molossi. This prince had been brought up at Athens, where he had formed his character upon the Grecian models, and had early imbibed a decided taste for the cultivation of literature. "In proportion as he surpassed all his predecessors in knowledge," says Justin,(3) "the more he was beloved by his people. He was the first king of Epirus who gave laws to his subjects, created a Senate with annual magistrates, and instituted a permanent form of government. The kingdom itself had been founded by Neoptolemus or the first Pyrrhus, but the manners of the Epirotes were polished and refined by Aribbas."

It was at Passaron,⁽⁴⁾ the chief city of the states of Epirus, that the kings upon their accession, after having sacrificed to Jupiter Belliger, swore to govern the people according to the laws : while the people on their side bound themselves to defend, as prescribed by the constitution, the sacred person of their king.⁽⁵⁾

Thus Epirus, which after a lapse of 2000 years has become in some degree the classic land of despotism, was the country which presented, perhaps for the first time, the union of liberty and monarchical power.

Æacidas, one of the successors of Aribbas, having been dethroned and put to death by his subjects, was succeeded by his son the renowned Pyrrhus, who, by the splendour of his deeds, entitled his country to the admiration of the world. He was not only descended from Achilles, but all writers agree that Olympias, the mother of Alexander, was nearly related to him. Thus, taking Alexander for his model, he longed to rival him in glory and renown. Having been dispossessed of his kingdom, he recovered it by the valour of his arm. He afterwards waged war with Panthacus, whom he vanquished in single combat. The Epirotes, stimulated by the victory of their prince, and inspired by his courage, succeeded in breaking the Macedonian phalanx. Pyrrhus, proclaimed king of Macedonia, lost that kingdom with the same rapidity

with which he had gained it; for the desire of obtaining that which he did not possess prevented his securing what was already in his power. Ever intent upon repairing his losses by fresh enterprises, and being called to the assistance of the Tarentines,⁽⁶⁾ he marched into Italy, defeated the Romans, and advanced nearly to the gates of Rome; but soon perceiving that, although he might defeat those stern republicans, he could not vanquish them, he changed the theatre of war; and having sailed from Buthrotum, (the modern Corfu,) the place of his residence, he conquered Corcyra and Trinacria in the short space of twenty days. Engaged in a succession of interminable wars, and carried away by his impetuous courage, he perished at the attack of Argos, having been first wounded by a woman, and afterwards despatched by a soldier. Pyrrhus was one of the greatest captains of antiquity, and deserved the place assigned him by Annibal, that of being second only to Alexander. Nor was his merit confined to war alone: he was equally distinguished for refinement and elevation of character, and generosity of soul. Neither cruel in his punishments nor vindictive in his resentments, he never steeped his hands in the blood of his subjects. During two or three reigns his successors were weak and spiritless, till at length the Epirotes, disgusted with being governed by mere automata, divided themselves into different republics.

These soon became the prey of the Macedonian dynasty, and remained subject to the kings of Macedon till the defeat of Perseus. The fates which had presided at the foundation of this kingdom under Caranus, had also fixed the term of its destruction. Paulus Æmilius, the conqueror of Perseus, severely avenged the invasion of Pyrrhus. It was from Passaron, where he had established his head-quarters, that he issued those cruel mandates which transformed Illyria and the most flourishing provinces of Greece, into one vast solitude. In one single day seventy towns were pillaged and destroyed, and the slavery of 160,000 Epirotes or Macedonians effected. These unfortunates were sent to Rome, where they were sold. Thus vanished the splendour of Epirus and Macedonia, till then so flourishing, whose crime was that of having opposed the ambition of that despotic republic, which would tolerate no glory, no liberty, and no independence but its own.

After these disastrous events, the Epirotes were governed by Roman prefects. Twice was the empire of the world disputed within the limits of the ancient dominions of Pyrrhus and Perseus—by land, upon the plains of Pharsalia; by sea, in the gulph of Actium or Arta. There Octavius, the conqueror of Antony, founded Nicopolis, or *the city of Victory*, to immortalize the battle of Actium, which had rendered him the master of

the Roman universe. By the power of Augustus, Nicopolis arose, as if by enchantment, upon the coasts formerly subject to the dominion of Pyrrhus, within a short distance of Ambracia, a town at first much enlarged by the Corinthians, and which had been one of the chief cities belonging to that prince. After having peopled it with inhabitants from the neighbouring towns, Augustus erected within its walls superb monuments, organized a Senate, instituted games, and granted it fresh immunities and privileges, which in a short time rendered it one of the most flourishing cities of Epirus. Under Constantine the Great Epirus was comprised within the province of Pannonia. Like the rest of Greece, it was favoured by the Emperor Julian, who repaired several of its towns. It was to Nicopolis that St. Paul carried the seeds of the Christian faith which he had preached in Macedonia, whence it was propagated beyond Pindus.

The Epirotes, subject to the degenerate successors of Constantine, adopted the religious creed of that prince, who, with the cross, had also transferred the throne of the Cæsars to Constantinople. His empire was fast verging to a decline. Nothing, however, suffered by that unhappy country since the time of Paulus Æmilius could be compared with the devastations committed by Alaric, the Gothic chief, when he invaded Greece at the head of his northern hordes. Attila

also inflicted upon it all the horrors of war about the middle of the fifth century; and it was once more ravaged by a dreadful invasion of the Huns and Bulgarians, who succeeded in establishing themselves there towards the close of the ninth. Various Sclavonian tribes also settled there, who, intermingling with the natives, materially contributed to change their manners and corrupt their language. One ancient people, however, predominated, who, having overpowered all the other hordes, not only gave to Epirus a new name, but also changed its political aspect:—the Albanians, (†) a race of men who, distinct from the Greeks, were known to the ancients as a hardy, ferocious, and warlike people; without, however, their being able to trace their origin with any degree of certainty. They are now generally supposed to be Asiatics, originally from Mount Caucasus, but from their long residence in Epirus, they remained there confounded with the Illyrians, and, according to circumstances, were at different times either the subjects or enemies of the kings of Macedon; while from the summits of their mountains they contributed to the destruction of empires. During the troubles caused by the weakness of the Eastern emperors, the name of Albania was common to the greatest part of Illyria and Epirus. Strangers to the demarcations which have successively divided Epirus into prefectures, consular and senatorial

provinces, tetrarchies, and latterly pachaships, the Albanians have classed themselves by idioms or dialects, the roots of which are common to four great tribes or families, viz. the Dgedges, the Mirdites, the Toskides, and the Tzimides, from which spring several other collateral branches.

Gifted with a vigorous organization, the Albanians, notwithstanding their connexion and intercourse with the Greeks, did not permit themselves to be effeminated by the arts. By adopting Paganism, they had slowly introduced themselves into social life; but as soon as the secret of immortality was revealed to the Greeks—as soon as the revelation of the Son of God was announced to the nations of the earth, the yet half-civilized savages of Epirus bent low before the holy symbol of Christianity. After this revolution, which materially contributed to the amelioration of their manners, the Mirdites isolated themselves from the other tribes. Under the Cæsars of the latter empire, they were the firmest supports of the throne so long as the monarch respected their conscientious scruples; but when schism introduced itself into the church—when a fatal ambition separated Rome from Constantinople, the Albanians of Macedonian Illyria naturally attached themselves to the West, whence the faith of their forefathers had been derived. They remained, therefore, what they had originally been, and were called *Latins*, from the name

of the church to which they still remained faithful. United both by their valour and a common faith, and proud of having preserved their religion, the Dgedges and the Mirdites displayed all the majesty of the Catholic worship in the towns of Upper Albania. A long interval of tranquillity seemed now to be insured to the Christians, when a storm, which had been gradually collecting in the East, suddenly burst over modern Epirus. About the fourteenth century the Turks, having descended from Mount Caucasus and made themselves masters of Asia Minor and of Thrace, precipitated themselves upon Greece, now divided by schism and effeminated by luxury. The Turkish name soon resounded throughout Albania. At this period Chio was in the possession of the Genoese; the Venetians occupied the Cyclades and the Morea; while a part of Epirus was under the dominion of the Crale or the king of Servia, a prince named Stephen, who had seized upon Joannina, a town which has since become the capital of Albania.

It was not till the spring of the year 1380 that the Turks, who had already invaded Greece and Macedonia, ventured to pass the heights of Pindus. Following up the victories of his ancestors, the Sultan Bajazet Ilderim (the thunderbolt) crossed the mountains and rivers; master of Upper Albania, he was preparing to pass

Mount Pindus with his army, when the news of Tamerlane's successes, who was laying waste Asia Minor, recalled him to the east, where, on the plains of Ancyra, he lost both his crown and his life. This event, so famous in history, only delayed for a short time the conquest of Epirus by the Mahometans.

In the year 1422, Amurath, the ninth monarch of the Ottoman dynasty, having ascended the throne, lost no time in prosecuting the plans of his predecessors against Greece and the Lower Empire. In vain did the Epirotes oppose his seizing the passes of Pindus. Terrified by a summons addressed to them by this Prince from his camp before Thessalonica, they resolved to submit; and a capitulation having been agreed upon, on the 9th of October, 1431, the Turks entered Joannina, which was even at that period a flourishing town.

In the mean time the conqueror of Albania, irritated by some partial revolts, and inflamed with the spirit of proselytism, commanded the vanquished to embrace the religion of the Prophet; while, following the example of their chief, his officers and soldiers, in their turn, became equally intolerant and tyrannical. But, however disposed the inhabitants of the plains might be to obey the haughty mandate, the Mirdites, fearless and unmoved, determined to make head

against the storm, and to preserve unshaken their fidelity to the Church. Those who could gain the mountains fled towards the cantons of the Chimera, of Souli, and of Parga, while others took refuge in Peloponnesus. Incessantly harassed and persecuted by the Turks, nothing less than the valour of the Mirdites could have arrested the Turkish hordes at the feet of their mountains : on all sides whole tribes, and several cities, overwhelmed by the irruption of these fanatics, had no other choice than slavery, death, or the abjuration of their religion. Many embraced the latter alternative, and but for the appearance of Georges Castriotti, the hero of Christian Epirus, the apostacy had been general. He was known in Upper Albania by the name of Scanderbeg, or the Bey Alexander, which title he had received from the Sultan himself, at whose court he had been brought up as a hostage, in the same manner as the Romans formerly educated the sons of the kings who were tributaries to their empire. Informed of the distresses of his fellow-countrymen, he broke his chains and flew to their assistance. The name of this new Alexander awakened reminiscences of ancient glory, which inflamed to the height of enthusiasm all the Christians of Upper Albania : they rushed to arms, and led on by their new chief, courageously disputed with the Musulmans the empire of Epirus. The rock of Croïa, which was the strong

hold of Scanderbeg, put a stop to the ravages and arrested the success of Amurath. Wherever they appeared, the Ottomans were beaten; and although their enemy acted solely on the defensive, the Turkish army was being continually renewed. This contest was protracted to two reigns, under Amurath and Mahomet II. Occupied with designs far more vast, the warlike Mahomet for a time appeared to forget Scanderbeg. In his eyes, this Christian hero was only an isolated rebel, whose punishment might be safely deferred: he did not, however, lose sight of him while engaged with enemies whom he judged more formidable; but maintained an army of observation to hem him in, in the mountains. In this celebrated war, which the haughty Mahomet was the first compelled to conclude, all the glory devolved upon the Albanian prince; and in 1465, he sent an ambassador to his enemy with rich presents, and proposals for peace, or rather for a truce: they were accepted.

The historians of Scanderbeg allot to that prince a greater extent of territory than was possessed by the ancient kings of Macedonia. But it is now ascertained that, correctly speaking, he had only Croïa, Lissa, Dyrrachium, and that portion of Musacha which extends along the right bank of the Ipsus. He neither occupied Joannina, a town already conquered by the Turks, nor the fortress of Berat, taken by Amurath in

1440. The pretended kingdom of Scanderbeg must therefore be reduced to the limited territory of Croïa; the glory of this prince being rather derived from his great military qualities, than from the extent of the country which owned his sway. As the soldier of Jesus Christ (a title of which he was particularly proud), he was chief of a league of *Latin* Lords, who, under the various titles of dukes, counts, and barons, governed the principal countries in Upper Albania.

His peace with Mahomet II. was of short duration. Scanderbeg had entered into an alliance with the Pope, the Venetians, and the King of Naples; and the Christian princes taking up arms against the Turks, Mahomet, fearful lest the command of the Crusaders should be given to his able adversary, offered to renew the peace. Scanderbeg refused, relying upon a letter from Pope Pius II. announcing that a Christian army would shortly effect a landing in Epirus. He therefore entered the field, ravaged the Ottoman Empire, but was not supported.

Mahomet, being relieved from all apprehensions of the Crusaders, directed the utmost fury of his vengeance against Scanderbeg and Albania. He despatched thither a fresh army, which was defeated no less than three times, with the loss of thirty thousand men. Mahomet then marched in person at the head of two hundred thousand

Turks. The danger was most imminent. Scanderbeg abandoned all his fortresses, and retreated with a flying camp of Albanians to the mountains, whence he attacked and destroyed prodigious numbers of the Turkish troops. Mahomet now changed his plan of operations : he no longer made a point of taking Croïa, but, traversing Albania from one frontier to the other, ravaging it, and putting to the sword all its inhabitants without the least respect to capitulations, he at length forced his valiant foe, who was weakened rather than vanquished, to yield to him the positions he could no longer defend. Scanderbeg, having retired to Lissa, a Venetian town, died a natural death, after having gloriously struggled for twenty-four years against the forces of Amurath and Mahomet. All his efforts, however, only retarded the progress of Ottoman success. Having become absolute masters of Macedonia and Epirus, they there established their overbearing despotism, which, but for the restraints imposed by religious principles, would have been insupportable.

Apostacy made but slow progress among the Albanians after the death of Scanderbeg. The Turks had at length adopted a more tolerant system, fearful that otherwise they might drive these warlike nations to exasperation and despair. Towards the close of the sixteenth century, however, the religion of Mahomet made numerous

proselytes among them; and at this period the Porte promulgated a law, which assured the possession of their property to those Albanian families who would bring up one of their children in the Musulman faith. This law was productive of two results: the one, that a far less number of Turks settled in Epirus than in the rest of Turkey; the other, that it caused a vast proportion of property to be transferred into the hands of the Musulmans. So great was its ulterior effect, that at various periods, villages, towns, and even whole districts, were seen voluntarily renouncing the religion of their fathers in order to obtain a few political advantages. Such examples are unfortunately not rare even in modern days.

On the other hand, the Christians, by ranging themselves among the warriors of the Crescent, were freed from the servile tribute of the *Caratch*,⁽⁶⁾ and treated with particular respect by the Turks, who, at times, trembled before the vigour of their arms. By their courage they obtained free and independent settlements; were allowed their own captains, and had franchises and immunities granted them which were guaranteed by capitulations with the Sultans. Thus both mosques and churches are to be found among the Albanians, but the frequenters of the former are as little acknowledged by the Turks for true Musulmans, as those of the latter are allowed by the Greeks to be orthodox Christians. Their

general reputation is that of having no other God than their interest—no other law than their sabre.

The Albanians, who, ever since the reign of Mahomet II. crouched beneath the Turkish yoke, were alike forgetful of the ancient renown of Pyrrhus and the modern glory of Scanderbeg: they devoted themselves to the service of the Sultans, and became not only their bravest warriors, but the most faithful and incorruptible of subjects.

From the time of Bajazet and Amurath they have held rank in the different corps of Janizaries, and distinguished themselves in most of the bloody engagements during those two reigns: the battles of Varna and Cassovia attest their undaunted valour as a nation. Subsequently they are to be met with in all the pachaships of the Ottoman empire, and in the Barbaric provinces, as subsidized volunteers, called Arnauts.

The population of modern Epirus is not, however, wholly composed of Albanians: various tribes of Servians, Bulgarians, Valaques, Turks, and Greeks, are to be found there; but at Joannina Greeks and Jews are the most numerous. It is not unusual to hear the languages of these different people, or a jargon formed from them, spoken in the same town. The Albanians, however, are the most numerous: they are also armed, and give the law to the rest. Sober, inured to hardships,

and accustomed to pillage, their bodies are robust, their look penetrating and haughty. The retaliative law of blood for blood is in full force among them, and the pleasure which they have in shedding the "purple stream of life" marks their characteristic ferocity. Despising the cunning of the Musulman, they declare an open hatred, manifesting without the least disguise their esteem or their contempt. Robbery is considered amongst them as a part of the national industry, and public theft is the career which first engages the arms of an Albanian. For them it is the road which conducts to the highest dignities of the state, especially if to the title of Musulman be joined audacity and success. By these means, even in our own times, Mehemet Ali was raised to the viceroyship of Egypt; Paswan Oglou to the pachaship of Vidin; Ismaël, Bèy de Serrés, to the command of Transaxian Macedonia; and Ali Pacha, the subject of the present memoir, to the pachaship of Joannina, and the high and important rank of Vizier.

CHAPTER II.

Birth of Ali.—His Ancestors.—Anarchical state of Epirus.—Ali's father.—Vely Bey destroys his brothers.—Marriage with Khamco.—His death.—Ali's education.—Polygamy.—Khamco's character.—Is taken prisoner by the Gardikiotes.—Her violation.—Is ransomed.—Her counsels to Ali.—Ali's character.—His first warlike excursion.—Is defeated.—Returns to Tepelini.—Reception by his mother.—Fortunate incident.—Passes into Thessaly.—Is taken prisoner.—His marriage with Emineh.—Denounces his father-in-law.—Marriage of his sister Chäinitza.—Seizes Tepelini.—Murders his brother-in-law.—Denounces his patron Selim, and kills him.—Is nominated Derven Pacha.—Distinguishes himself against Russia.—Death of Khamco.—Her will.—Ali obtains possession of Joannina.

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ALI PACHA is generally supposed to have been born about the year 1750, but, from his having always affected to appear younger than he really was, the exact year of his birth is not precisely ascertained. Tepelini, the place of his nativity, is a modern town, about twenty leagues north of Joannina, situated on the left bank of the Aöus, or Voïoussa, in the midst of a gloomy valley, surrounded by wild and desert mountains. The insignificance of Tepelini, which scarcely con-

tains two hundred habitations, would have condemned it to perpetual obscurity, but for the melancholy pre-eminence of having been the birth-place of Ali Pacha. His family, distinguished by the surname of Hissas, was of the tribe of the Toskides, who call themselves ancient Musulmans. Ali gave it an Asiatic origin, asserting that it had passed into Epirus with the hordes of Bajazet Ilderim, but of this he could adduce no proof. It was generally considered as indigenous, and as descended from the Christian Schypetars, who embraced Mahometanism at the period of the conquest. Nothing, however, but doubt and uncertainty exists respecting the circumstances to which the ancestors of Ali were indebted for their elevation and fortune. It appears that they embraced the lucrative profession of *kleftes*, a species of open and public robbery, under the cloak of which they invaded the territory of Tepelini, a kind of fief, originally dependent upon the Pacha of Berat.

Mouctar, Ali's grandfather, is said to have fallen in the expedition of the Turks against Corfu, in the defence of which Marshal Schullembourg so eminently distinguished himself; Mouctar left three sons, the youngest of whom was Vely, father to Ali, the late Satrap of Joannina.

At the period of Mouctar's death, (about the year 1717,) Epirus was not subject to the autho-

rity of an absolute vizier. Each canton, and often each town, and even village, formed its own particular republic, divided into *phares*. In the midst of these anarchical associations, great feudatories counterbalanced the authority of the pachas sent by the Porte: confederacies were frequently formed for the purpose of resisting the oppressions, and especially for preventing the permanency, of these governors, whose commissions were circumscribed to a lunar year; ⁽¹⁾ and in this they very often succeeded. Scarcely, however, were the fickle Albanians relieved from the fears of oppression, than they turned their arms against each other, tribe against tribe, and family against family. This state of anarchy, productive of so much bloodshed, was notwithstanding attended with one beneficial result, that of maintaining a warlike spirit among the Epirotes, and of increasing their vigilance for the preservation of their liberties.

Vely Bey, who with his brothers was born in the small town of Tepelini, possessed an annual revenue of nearly six thousand piastres, (about 700*l.* sterling) a sum which, though considerable in those days for a private individual, was insufficient for Beys, who had to maintain armed followers; interest, therefore, soon introduced discord into the family, and, as domestic quarrels are in that country almost invariably

followed by violence, recourse was had to arms, and the two elder brothers united against Vely, the offspring of a slave;(*) who being forced to expatriate himself, embraced the perilous profession of those Albanian knights errant, more commonly known by the appellation of *kleftes* or brigands.

A few years after, enriched by this trade, and supported by a desperate band of adherents, Vely Bey suddenly reappeared before Tepelini, passed the Voïoussa, penetrated into the suburbs, and compelled his brothers to take refuge in their castle. In vain did they offer resistance. Vely, after having forced the gates, drove them into a pavilion, to which he immediately set fire, and thus destroyed his brothers, who would doubtless have shewn him as little mercy, had he fallen into their power.

After this expedition, master of the entire fortune of his family, and enriched by the spoils acquired in his predatory excursions, Vely Bey, became the first Aga in Tepelini, and wholly occupying himself in establishing his power, renounced for ever the dangerous occupation of a *klefte*. A favourite slave had already made him the father of two sons and one daughter; but being anxious to ally himself by marriage to some of the noble families of the country, he sought and obtained the hand of Khamco, daughter of a Bey of Conitza—an alliance which connected him with

several of the principal families of Toscaria, and especially with Courd Pacha, Vizier of Berat, said to be descended from the noble family of Scanderbeg. The fruits of this marriage were Ali and Chaïnitza. Shortly after the birth of these children Vely Tepelini became involved in disputes with his neighbours, the Beys of Argyro Castron, Premiti, Klissoura, and Kaiminitza, who at length succeeded in despoiling him of the greater part of his territories; Vely, unable to bear up against his misfortunes, sunk under them, and died of a broken heart at the age of forty-five. At the time of his father's death, Ali was but fourteen years old; but even then gave striking proofs of that turbulent spirit, of that extreme vivacity of temper, which so particularly characterized him in after-life. A petulance and irritability uncommon in young Turks, who are naturally sedate and composed, were striking traits in his character. In vain did his father endeavour to direct his attention to the studies necessary for youth: escaping from his preceptors, and flying the paternal roof, he would wander among mountains covered with eternal snows, or amidst forests of antediluvian growth. It was not till his father's death, that, centering all his affections in his beloved mother, he submitted himself to her will, learnt to read, appeared tractable, and adopted as his rule of conduct the counsels of Khamco. "To my mother," said he one day to

the consul-general of France, “ I owe all ; for my father on his death-bed left me but a mere *hole* (*) and a few fields. My imagination, fired by the counsels of her who has twice given me existence, for she has made me a *man* and a *vizier*, revealed to me the secret of my destiny. From that moment I only considered Tepelini as the natal eyry from which I was to dart upon the prey already mine in idea. From that moment I thought but of power, treasures, and palaces—in fact, of all which time has already realized, and which it still promises ; for I have not yet attained the *acme* of my hopes.”

The children born in a state of polygamy (†) are seldom or never susceptible of those sentiments of affection for each other, so common in those who are the issue of single wedlock. They are early initiated into the dissensions of the harem ; become parties to the cabals of their mothers, and strongly participate in their feelings of jealousy and hatred. Hence those family feuds, which, although repressed for a time by the authority of the father, yet never fail to burst forth upon the first opportunity, may frequently be traced to the cradle itself. Such was the situation of Vely Bey’s family. His death having preceded that of his slave, her children were left totally at the mercy of a step-mother, such as the poet describes

Pocula sævæ infecere novercæ
Miscueruntque herbas, et non innoxia verba.

During her husband's lifetime Khamco had only appeared a woman of an ordinary mind; scarcely however were the eyes of Vely closed in death, than she displayed the greatest talents, accompanied by extraordinary strength of character; but these qualities were sullied by an implacability of soul, in which she too nearly resembled Olympias, the mother of Alexander, who like herself had been born in Epirus. Without being intimidated by the disastrous circumstances under which she found herself, she not only determined to oppose the torrent of ill fortune which threatened to overwhelm her, but meditated the restoration of her family to all its pristine splendour. Renouncing suddenly the manners of her sex, she exchanged the spindle for the sword, the veil for the helmet, and, with an Amazonian spirit, united the partizans of her family with those of her late husband's vassals who still retained their fidelity. To these she shewed the scion on which she reposed her every hope, and tried in various skirmishes her strength against the enemies of her race. In her numerous excursions she was accompanied by her son, to whom she pointed out in the distance the lands of which he had been despoiled, and the territories of the despoilers.

In the mean time the tribes who were in the immediate vicinage of Tchormovo and Gardiki, alarmed at the extraordinary influence of this woman, and fearing for their independence, made

preparation for combating the haughty mistress (*agadina*) of Tepelini, who, without loss of time, anticipated them by a declaration of war. She placed herself at the head of her clans, braved every danger, and continued harassing her enemies by open hostilities or by secret intrigues, till at length, deserted by fortune, she with her two children Ali and Chäinitza fell into an ambuscade. Having been carried prisoners to Gardiki, they were there cast into a loathsome dungeon; nor was their cup of misery yet full; both Khamco and her daughter were exposed to the horrors of violation, and compelled to suffer the brutal embraces of the principal inhabitants; thus their lives seemed only spared them that they might endure the extremity of suffering and violence. Their liberation was, however, soon after effected by a Greek merchant⁽⁵⁾ of Argyro Castron, who, touched by the misfortunes of so interesting a woman, ransomed her and her children for the sum of twenty-two thousand eight hundred piastres (about 3,700*l.* sterling.)

Restored to liberty, Khamco no longer took part in the civil wars of Epirus: solely occupied in re-establishing her fallen fortunes, she educated the young Ali as the avenger of her wrongs, and instilled into him those fatal principles which he was already too well disposed to follow. “My son,” would she say to him, “he who does not defend his inheritance, deserves to be despoiled

of it. Remember that the property of others only belongs to them by the right of the stronger; why then should it not be yours?—She incessantly repeated to him that success legitimizes every enterprise; in short, she completed her instructions, by inculcating the fearful maxim which Suetonius represents Agrippina as delivering to her son, “*Cuncta licet principi.*” Not less distinguished for his courage and intrepidity, than for his address, and apparent sweetness of disposition, Ali not only gained the admiration of the soldiery, but won the affections of the principal vassals of his house. Enthusiastic for the profession of arms, the history of the warlike deeds of his ancestors formed the chief study of his leisure hours; and, by committing the various facts to memory, he strengthened that faculty to such a surprising degree, that even names and dates were recollected by him with the greatest facility. Gifted with a strong constitution, and a vigorous mind, it will not be matter of surprise that he should acquire a distinguished pre-eminence in all the martial exercises of his country. The lessons of his mother were not fruitless. When only fourteen years of age, he succeeded in driving off some of his neighbours’ goats, but he soon aimed at greater deeds, and, by making incursions into the territories of his enemies, acquired considerable booty, which, in addition to the riches amassed by his mother, enabled

him in a short time to subsidize mercenaries for the purpose of undertaking an expedition against Tchormovo. But this first attempt was not calculated to give a favourable idea of Ali's courage, who, having met with a vigorous resistance, turned his back, and was one of the first to re-enter Tepelini. His mother, imagining she saw all her hopes blasted by his cowardice, loaded him with reproaches, and thrusting a distaff into his hand, "Coward," said she, "go and spin with the women of the Harem; it is a trade much more befitting thee than that of arms." He found means, however, to appease her fiery temper; and again took the field at the head of six hundred men, but was again unfortunate.

Driven from his native town, closely pursued by his enemies, and deprived of every resource, Ali saw his finances reduced to sixty parats, and with these he had to pay the Albanians, who were the sharers in his misfortune. After wandering about the mountains, and concealing himself in the dwellings of several of his friends, he at length found himself reduced to the necessity of selling his sabre to purchase bread. "One day, having retired into the ruins of an old monastery," as he himself related to Colonel Vaudoncourt, "I was ruminating upon my desperate situation, thinking no hopes were left of maintaining myself against the overwhelming power of my enemies; while thus engaged, I was me-

chanically raking up the ground with the point of my stick, when suddenly a low sound issued from something which resisted its action. I continued to rake up the earth, and discovered a chest full of gold, which had probably been hidden there during the troubles of civil war."

This treasure enabled Ali to pass into Negropont at the head of his followers, where he entered into the service of the Satrap of that isle. It appears, however, that he was as unsuccessful in Eubœa as at Tchormovo. Disgusted with his ill fortune, he crossed into Thessaly, where he committed depredations as a *Klefté*. From Thessaly he ascended into the chain of the Pindus; and, after having pillaged some villages of Zagori, returned to Tepelini, richer, and consequently better enabled to enforce respect than when he had quitted it. Thus furnished with fresh funds, Ali recommenced his predatory excursions, which he carried on to so great an excess, that at length Courd Pacha found himself under the necessity of putting a stop to them. Having been overtaken by some troops despatched after him by the old Satrap, Ali was made prisoner, and conducted to Berat.

It was expected that Ali Bey would have inevitably shared the fate of his companions, who were all hanged; but when Courd Pacha saw at his feet a young man, who, to the interest ever excited by deeds of valour, added the claims of

relationship, his heart relented, and he repressed his anger. He kept him at his Court for several years, loaded him with favours, and endeavoured by his advice to induce him to re-enter the paths of probity and virtue. At length, moved by the intreaties of Khamco, he restored her son to liberty, at the same time giving both of them to understand, that the same lenity would not be shewn them, should they again disturb the public tranquillity.

This indulgent correction appeared to restrain for a short time the impetuosity of Ali's temper. By offering his services to his neighbours, and engaging in their quarrels, he succeeded in making friends, and soon acquired a distinguished reputation among the beys of the country. These amicable relations he strengthened still more by allying himself with the family of Capelan, Pacha of Delvino. His youth, his manly form, his handsome features beaming with intelligence, and his natural eloquence, were charms which gained him the heart and hand of the young and beautiful Emineh, whose memory will be long revered and cherished in Epirus.

Capelan Pacha, of whose family Ali had now become a member, was one of those rebels so common in Turkey, who, finding themselves far removed from the seat of government, think they may with impunity exercise the most unbounded tyranny over those subjected to

their authority. By the assistance of his son-in-law, he hoped to draw over other chiefs to his party, and by their means to acquire independence, the favourite chimera of almost every Pacha. But Ali was little disposed to work for the elevation of another. While, therefore, he apparently served his father-in-law with the utmost devotedness, he excited him to commit crimes, which he secretly denounced to the Ottoman Porte, whose vengeance he thus aroused. At length, finding the storm raised against Capelan, he was the first to hurry him to destruction, by advising him to obey the citation of the Rumelie-Valisee, before whom he was summoned in order to render an account of his conduct. Ali well knew that this advice, if followed, would conduct his father-in-law to the scaffold; a catastrophe which he ardently desired, in the hopes of becoming the inheritor both of his dignity and treasures. Capelan, whose condemnation had been already determined upon, was beheaded soon after his arrival at Monastir; but instead of recompensing his accuser with the succession, the Porte nominated Ali, Bey of Argyro Castron, Capelan's father-in-law, to the vacant pachaship. This bey being devoted to the interests of the Grand Seignior, would not allow Ali to touch a single piastre of his father-in-law's property, which was all confiscated. Notwithstanding so unexpected and severe a disappointment, Ali still

hoped to obtain the object of his wishes, and the suggestions of his mother soon enabled him to succeed. Ali of Argyro Castron, the newly appointed Pacha, being unmarried, Khamco proposed effecting the union of the two families, by his taking her daughter Chaïnitza to wife. After considerable management and intrigue, Ali's mother at length accomplished her object, and the nuptials were solemnized under happy auspices, since they promised to unite two families which were otherwise on the point of becoming rivals. But this event was far from extinguishing that rancorous hate indulged by Ali against the successor of Capelan; and he had already formed a thousand projects of vengeance, when the death of Courd Pacha called his attention towards Berat.

Ali Tepelini had flattered himself that, by a simultaneous marriage, he might now become the son-in-law of this Vizier; but he was again to feel the smart of disappointment. Courd Pacha had betrothed his only daughter to Ibrahim, Bey of Avlona, recently promoted to the vizierat of Middle Albania. Words can but ill describe the fury of Ali when informed of a circumstance which once more dashed from his lips the cup of hope: he almost entirely secluded himself from his people, and Khamco alone dared to enter his apartment.

For several years after this event, Ali appears

to have remained in a state of comparative inactivity; his attempt to make himself master of Tepelini being the next remarkable incident of his eventful life.

This enterprise we shall describe in his own words, as related by him to M. Pouqueville.

“ I felt,” said he, “ the necessity of firmly establishing myself in the place of my birth, where I had partisans devoted to my service, and formidable adversaries, whom it was necessary to exterminate *en masse*; but for this some crime was to be alleged against them. It was now that I conceived the plan which I ought to have adopted at the opening of my career. I was accustomed, after my hunting-parties, to take a *siesta* in a wood near the Bentcha; and by means of a trusty adherent, I caused it to be proposed to my enemies to dodge me thither for the purpose of assassinating me. I myself sketched out the plan of this conspiracy against my life, and having arrived at the place of rendezvous before my intended assassins, I tied a goat, well secured by ropes, and muzzled, firmly upon the ground, and covered it with my riding cloak; then disguising myself, regained the seraglio, while my substitute was despatched by a volley of small arms. The conspirators, however, were not permitted to convince themselves of their success, for a picquet of my soldiers appeared at the very instant they heard the discharge. My pretended

murderers entered Tepelini, vociferating, ‘Ali Bey is no more!—We are rid of him!’ These exclamations penetrated even into the harem, which resounded with the groans of my mother, and the exulting shouts of my enemies. I permitted the conspirators to enjoy their fancied triumph till they had become intoxicated with joy and wine, when, after having undeceived my mother, I fell upon them sword in hand, the watchword of my party being ‘*Mine is the cause of justice:*’ before morn not one was left alive; their property and habitations I distributed amongst my creatures, and from that moment I have been absolute in Tepelini.”

This was truly Ali’s *debut* to a new order of things, and he soon exhibited other proofs of that species of capacity which is a substitute for real talent among barbarians. It has already been observed that he cherished a secret hatred against the Pacha of Argyro Castron. In vain did this relative endeavour, by the most affectionate conduct, to attach Ali to him by the ties of gratitude and brotherly love. His implacable soul was proof against all his tenderness, and meditated a crime almost unexampled in the history of human guilt. Anxious for the destruction of his brother-in-law, he hesitated not to propose to his sister to destroy her husband by poison. Chaïnitza refused to perpetrate so atrocious an act, but sisterly affection prevented her from dis-

closing her brother's guilt. Thus disappointed, he had recourse to duplicity; he manifested the most unfeigned repentance, and took every opportunity of testifying, both by words and actions, the greatest affection for his brother-in-law. But this was only a perfidious calm which preceded the direst of treasons. Ali had met with an accomplice in his intended crime, in the person of Soliman, brother of the Pacha, to whom, as the reward of fratricide, he promised the hand and fortune of Chaïnitza. The proposal being accepted, and the parties having bound themselves to secrecy by the most dreadful oaths, measures were immediately taken for consummating a crime worthy the family of the Atrides. A brother was about to steep his hands in a brother's blood, while another brother was to reward the fratricide, by the incestuous marriage of his sister with the murderer of her husband. The near relationship of the conspirators to their intended victim gave them every facility; and at a private audience, which the Pacha granted Ali and Soliman, the latter shot his brother through the heart. The report of the pistol spread consternation through the harem; Chaïnitza rushed into the chamber, and beheld her husband lifeless between his murderers. She was about to shriek for assistance, but with horrid menaces, Ali enforced silence; and making a sign to Soliman to cover her with his pelisse, (⁶)

declared her his wife. The death of the Pacha of Argyro Castron was attributed to a fit of apoplexy, but the truth speedily became notorious; and as Chaïnitza soon found consolation in the embraces of her new husband, and a son by her former one died a short time afterwards, it was currently believed that she had been a party to his death. Although Ali Tepelini had thus succeeded in getting rid of his brother-in-law, he was not nominated his successor; Selim Bey Coka, descended from one of the first families of Yapouria, received from the Porte the investiture of the pachaship of Delvino. In a country where crimes of great enormity are always considered as proofs of superior talent, it will not appear surprising that Ali should have acquired a great reputation: this, joined to his superior address, recommended him to the confidence of the new Pacha, by whom he was received with the affection of a father; ill-fated confidence! which only enabled him to conceive and perpetrate fresh enormities.

The Sangiacat of Delvino adjoined the possessions of the Venetians on *terra firma*, by means of the territory of Butrinto, the possession of which had always been matter of dispute between the Turks and the Christians established upon that part of the Ionian coast. Selim, abandoning the policy of his predecessors, was studious to encourage amicable relations with the

commissaries of Corfu; and this conduct, far from obtaining eulogium, rendered him obnoxious to a Divan naturally suspicious. He was, however, unconscious of his critical situation; and, to complete his misfortune, Ali was appointed to observe his conduct. Anxious for Selim's destruction, and fertile in expedients, Ali soon found an opportunity of gratifying his wishes. Selim had recently sold the Venetians a forest situated near the Lake Pelode; and Ali took this opportunity of denouncing him to the government, as guilty of having alienated a portion of the territory of his Highness (although the sale was merely confined to the timber), adding, that if he were not prevented, he would soon deliver up the whole of the Sangiacat of Delvino to the infidels. In concluding his despatch he observed, that it was with the greatest pain he made known the malversations of his benefactor, and that it was solely the interest of the Sultan his master which had determined him to reveal a transaction so materially affecting both religion and the state.

As in Turkey, accusation (especially of a correspondence with Christians) is equivalent to condemnation, unless the accused be powerful enough to inspire fear; the Divan, without instituting a formal enquiry, despatched a firman of death against Selim, and charged Ali with its execution. The latter, who, for the better

management of his plot, had retired to Tepelini, lost no time in returning to Delvino, where he was received by the old Pacha with his accustomed kindness, and lodged in his seraglio. There, trampling upon the sacred laws of hospitality, and assisted by some ruffians in his pay, he secretly prepared for the cowardly assassination which was to ensure his future advancement. Every morning he waited upon his host, to pay him the customary compliments. One day, feigning indisposition, Ali requested Selim would come into his apartment, for the purpose of receiving an important communication. The invitation being accepted, scarcely had the unfortunate old man entered the room, than upon an appointed signal, the assassins, who had been concealed in a closet, rushed out and stabbed him to the heart: he fell pierced with wounds, uttering almost the same words as Cæsar—“*Is it thou, my son, who deprivest me of life?*” At the noise of the tumult his guards hastened to the spot, and found Ali in the midst of the assassins, with the firman in his hand, exclaiming in threatening accents, “I have killed the traitor, by order of our glorious Sultân! here is his Imperial mandate!” At these words, and at the sight of the order, the Turks bent low, and, with hearts transfixed with horror, remained motionless, while Selim’s head was separated from his body bathed in blood and gore.

Ali then ordered the Cadi and the primates to repair to the spot to attest the execution of the sentence, seals were placed upon the palace, which he immediately quitted, taking with him, as a hostage, Mustapha, the son of Selim, who, after many vicissitudes, perished by the same hand which had murdered his parent. The lieutenancy to the newly appointed Derven Pacha of Rumelia was his recompense. Although an inferior post, and one which consequently little gratified his ambition, he willingly accepted it. The misdemeanours of his lieutenant, who not only winked at the excesses, but even shared in the spoils acquired by the brigands whom it was his duty to have brought to justice, were soon fatal to the Derven Pacha, who lost his head in consequence; and Ali only escaped by sending as his proxy to Constantinople a strong box *well filled*; the substitute was accepted, and thus the fruits of his crimes procured him absolution from them.

Having highly distinguished himself in the war which broke out between Turkey and the two Imperial Courts of Austria and Russia in the year 1787, as a reward for his services during that campaign, the Porte conferred upon him the pachaship with two tails of Triccala, a province in Thessaly; to this was added the title of Derven Pacha of Rumelia. One of the duties attached to this office was to maintain a free and secure communication between Constantinople

and Joannina, by clearing the valley of Peneus of a considerable number of chieftains, who exercised there a much greater authority than the officers of the Sultan. Ali seized this opportunity of openly keeping a body of troops in his pay, which he gradually augmented to the number of nearly 4000 men: these were all well armed, and he soon shewed what might be expected from his vigilance and activity. Attacking the brigands at the head of his troops, he routed, dispersed, and drove into the mountains the hordes which overran the plains. His severity made the inhabitants of Larissa tremble; and such was the terror of his name, since his recent appointments, that order and security reappeared, from the chain of Pindus to the passes of Thermopylæ. By thus clearing the country of those banditti, with whom he had himself been connected, he not only acquired the character of a skilful governor, but also the means of rendering himself formidable to the Porte—for the idea of absolute independence already dawned in his breast.

Ali was very careful to increase his reputation, and to justify the opinion of his talents, by making liberal presents to the officers of the Grand Seignior, and by shewing them the court-yards of his palace hung round with detruncated heads. Being now firmly fixed in his government, and finding his treasures increase, he formed

the idea of bargaining for the pachaship of Joanina, which, by placing him in the centre of Epirus, would enable him to avenge himself of his enemies, and obtain the supreme mastery of the Albanians, so essential to the success of his ulterior designs.

About this time Khamco, who had been long afflicted with the dropsy, terminated her career. Her last moments were employed in hearing her will read to her: this instrument, which, by a kind of posthumous power, imparts even to the dead the power of action, bequeathed to Ali and his sister the task of immolating to her manes the inhabitants of Gardiki and Tchormovo, from whom she had suffered the indignities of slavery and violation; her bitterest curses awaited the non-execution of her wishes. In a codicil she ordered a pilgrim to be despatched to Mecca in her name, there to present an offering at the tomb of the Prophet for the repose of her soul.(?)—It is said that she expired in the most dreadful paroxysms of rage,

“ *Dicens in superos aspera verba Deos.*”

Anxious to embrace her son in her dying hour, she had despatched courier after courier to him; but Heaven denied her that consolation, and she breathed out her impious breath in the arms of Chaïnitza. Ali did not arrive till an hour after her death; he bedewed her inanimate corpse

with the tears of filial affection; and, clasping his sister's hand within his own, they both swore to pursue and utterly exterminate the enemies of their beloved mother.

Thus, uniting ambition to the thirst for vengeance, he became still more anxious to obtain the pachaship of Joannina. This city was almost wholly supplied with corn from Thessaly; and Triccala, of which Ali was now Pacha, commanded the commercial communications from Epirus to Constantinople, especially those between Joannina and Thessaly. Since the conquest the inhabitants of Joannina had preserved a partial liberty under the government of their Pachas, whose recall they effected at will. In 1716 they had, for the first time, been subjected to the *Caratch*, and to the authority of a Pacha with two tails: this had taken place under the dependence of the Vizier of Triccala in Thessaly. Upon this ancient custom Ali founded his pretensions. By the help of intrigue he had gained a strong party in Joannina, which resembled rather a rendezvous for the factious, than a town subject to the Grand Seignior; for the Beys, having obtained considerable influence, had confined the Pachas in an old castle near the lake, and continually threatened them with being recalled, if they opposed their seditious practices, and Ali by his agents continually fomented these intrigues and dissensions. Calo-Pacha, who had

governed Joannina fifteen years, being just dead, not without suspicion of having been poisoned, a violent contest for the succession arose among the most powerful and ambitious of the Beys.

Ali was unwilling to lose so favourable an opportunity of advancing his fortune. Having secretly instructed his agents at Constantinople to procure him the title of Pacha of Joannina, he levied troops, and suddenly appeared before that town. In the mean time the Beys, who had also *friends* in the Divan, had, through their medium, obtained a *firman* forbidding Ali to enter Joannina: the courier, whose arrival was so anxiously expected, at length appeared; his despatches were read, and, to the surprise and consternation of the Beys, Ali was nominated Derven Pacha, and was instructed to enter the city immediately. The same night he marched into Joannina, and appeared before the Cadi, whom he required to enregister and promulgate the *firman* of investiture. This legal act having been performed, he was solemnly acknowledged in his quality of Pacha of two tails of Joannina. This event, the chief object of his wishes, took place at the close of the year 1788.

CHAPTER III.

Description of the valley and town of Joannina.—History of Joannina from the time of Alexis Commenes, till that of Ali Pacha.

THE valley of Joannina is situated in the centre of Epirus, and presents a plateau of about eight leagues from north to south, the radius of its mean diameter being about two leagues. This fertile and extensive plain, covered with groves, gardens, plantations, and the richest productions of the country, is surrounded by mountains on every side. Pindus bounds it on the east by its inferior chain called Mitchikeli, which extends from the south-west to the north-west, a little to the north of the lake Labchistas and the defile of Protopapas. From this point is a range of undulating hills, running from north to south, as far as the defile of Velchistas, whence they continue towards the east for about a league, till they become united with the mountain of the *Five Pits*, which connects them with Mitchikeli. Such is the mountainous zone encompassing the plateau, called by the ancients Hellopia, but known to the moderns under the name of the valley of Joannina.

The upper lake, nearly resembling in form an isosceles triangle, is about fourteen miles in circumference, and is approached by the eastern defile through the Mezzovo road. On the left is the valley of Barcamoudi, extending to the south between four and five miles: here are the villages of Catzana and Choria, inhabited by Greek and Valaques Christians, the cultivators of this fertile country. The base of the lake is about three quarters of a league in extent; and near it, in the plain of Barcamoudi, are the remains of an ancient Cyclopean fortress called Castritza. From the top of its towers is a fine view of all the eastern part of the basin of Joannina, but the prospect on the west is interrupted by the chain of the Pindus.

About the distance of half a league west of Castritza is the Khan of Catchika, and opposite to it is the village of the same name. After passing the Khan of Pogoniani, the traveller enters Joannina by the gate of Calo-Tchesmé, near which are two Chinese pavilions recently erected by Ali Pacha.

The town of Joannina*, extending along the declivity and base of the hills which bound it on

* For the accompanying view of Joannina, we are indebted to that intelligent traveller, Mr. Theophilus Richards, whose interesting Diary has also supplied many of the facts recorded in this Memoir.

the west, is about two miles and a half in length, and nearly one in breadth. It consists of two principal streets; the one running nearly the whole length of the town, and the other crossing it at right angles. A peninsula, the site of the ancient town, runs into the lake at a considerable distance from the town, and upon this is built the castron or fortress, which is approached over a miserable bridge, through the filthy quarter of the Jews. The chief buildings enclosed within the castron are the old and new seraglios of the Vizier, two mosques, one of which, called the Mosque Calo Pacha, is ornamented with granite columns brought from the ruins of the temple of Pluto, in Threspotia. Here are also the palaces of Ali's sons, Mouctar and Vely Pacha. These latter edifices, built after the Turkish fashion, are remarkable for being ornamented with fresco paintings, executed by some Armenian daubers. The subjects of these paintings are as monstrous and gross, as the taste of the princes who admire them is vicious and depraved. For instance, upon the frontal of the entrance-gate to Mouctar's palace, that Pacha is represented, surrounded by his officers, witnessing the torture and execution of a criminal. This work is much admired, although considered by the connoisseurs as inferior to another, in which the same prince appears seated, surrounded by oxen, horses, mules and asses. The paintings in

Vely's palace represent camps, piles of heads, sieges, &c. &c. In the latter productions of Armenian genius, the bombs are considerably larger than the houses. The apartments of Ali Pacha are somewhat in a better taste; but scarcely merit the honour of a description.

Joannina contains about fourteen mosques and seven churches, and about three thousand two hundred houses, some of which are spacious and well built. The bazaar is large, and full of good shops; but from its being covered in, to shelter it from the sun and rain, it is almost impossible to judge of the quality of the articles exposed for sale. The number of inhabitants, Albanians, Turks, Greeks, and Jews, may be reckoned at about thirty-six or thirty-eight thousand, not including about ten thousand soldiers belonging to the Vizier. The water is excellent. The lake is supplied by numerous springs at the foot of the hills, and empties itself through *cataras*, or subterraneous mouths. There are a few miserable boats upon the lake, chiefly used in fishing and carrying fire-wood; and the Vizier has a small Polacca brig of about forty or sixty tons burthen, although, from his aversion to the water, he seldom makes use of it.

There are very few manufactories in Joannina; the principal one is for making a kind of silk and cotton stuff, much worn by the Greeks and Turks for dresses. Considerable quantities of leather,

both dressed and undressed, are also exported to Messina, Venice, Trieste, the Ionian islands, &c.: it is sold by weight. In their dresses, the Turks and Greeks use much gold embroidery, which is manufactured here. The gold is brought from Naples, Genoa, and Venice. The annual consumption is about 40,000 dollars worth. The chief articles of importation are coffee, sugar, cochineal, indigo, nails, glass-ware, cloths from Germany, cotton goods, red lead, iron of all sorts from Trieste, tin, lead, shot, cambrics, and German linen of every description. Rice, and other articles of provision, are brought from Alexandria. We have elsewhere observed, that Joannina has been more than once devastated by that dreadful scourge, the plague. In 1814, it was daily expected once more to make its appearance, having been for some time raging in the environs; this would inevitably have been the case, but for the prompt measures adopted by Ali, who immediately drew a strong cordon of troops round the infected countries. Immediate death was the punishment for attempting to pass it. At the same time he ordered, that upon the decease of any person in Joannina, the house was to be closed till the nature of the disease had been ascertained; declaring at the same time, that should it be found to be the plague, every soldier stationed on the road through which it had been introduced, should be put to death, as well as all the relations of the deceased.

The town of Joannina (¹) had already existed several ages previously to its restoration by John, the son of Alexis Comnenes, who commenced to reign there about the year 1118; or, according to others, by John Ducas, son-in-law of Theodore Lascaris, who ascended the throne about the year 1222 of our era. We shall not stop here to investigate which of these accounts is the true one, since both equally prove that Joannina is a town of the middle ages. Scarcely, however, was it raised upon the promontory which runs into the lake, than it was entirely destroyed by the Normans and Neapolitans, called by the historians of that day Catalans or Latins. This event, it is supposed, happened about the twelfth century; for it was already flourishing, when it fell into the power of the Triballi, a name by which the Byzantines frequently designate the Servians. An anonymous history (²) of Joannina, in possession of some monks, commences with the invasion of that town by the Slavonians: according to this writer, the Turks, at this period masters of Asia Minor, occupied Thrace, the Genoese were in possession of Chio, the Venetians of the Cyclades and the Morea, with the exception of Lacedemonia, and Monembasia; while Epirus was governed by the king of Servia. This crale, or monarch, named Stephen, finding the frontiers of Greece unprotected, began to make incursions, and soon after attacked the towns. By dint of violence

and intrigue, he by degrees got possession of Grecian Valachia, of which Triccala and Larissa form a part, and finally made himself master of Joannina, and of Greece, or Hellida.⁽³⁾ Having thus acquired possession of this country, he formed it into two principalities; giving Grecian Valachia and Joannina to one of his Satraps, by name Prolampos, whom he also gratified with the title of Cæsar; and Etolia to his brother Simeon, who married Thomé, the daughter and heiress of John, the lord of that province. After having made these arrangements, he himself returned to Berat, and thence to Canina, where he soon after died. The Cæsar Prolampos took immediate possession of the country which had been granted him; but Simeon was compelled to give up Etolia to his relation Nicephore, who had been nominated to it by the government at Constantinople, and he returned to Castoria, to the queen his wife, who resided in that town. He there immediately set about organizing troops, and soon raised about five thousand men. In the mean time, Nicephore, having arrived from Constantinople, entered upon his government; but he was not fated to enjoy it long, for finding Etolia a prey to intestine broils, the Greeks having been expelled the towns by the Albanians, and being desirous of subduing them by force of arms, he lost his life in a battle with them near the Achelous.

Upon this intelligence, Simeon immediately

quitted the frontiers of Servia, and proceeded with his wife to Triccala, whence he sent her into Etolia, where she was much respected, confiding to her the government of that province, to which he added those of Arta and Joannina. He himself marched into Valachia, while his lieutenant Chlapenos took possession of several strong places belonging to the Greeks, and also of the important town of Verria.

But Queen Thomé, notwithstanding the great devotedness of her Etolian subjects, could not repress the Albanians, who had been permitted to establish themselves in Angelo Castron, and several towns bordering on the Achelous. As they penetrated even to the gates of Joannina, the inhabitants of that town carried their grievances before the King at Vodena, where he held his Court. The despot Thomas was appointed their governor. This Satrap, scarcely less infamous for his crimes than the subject of the present work, upon arriving at Joannina, in 1367, banished the Archbishop Sebastian, together with several of the principal inhabitants, whom it was his duty to protect. He also put to death by the most exquisite tortures a person named Claosi, whose only crime was being possessed of considerable property, which had excited the cupidity of the tyrant. Surrounded by all the vile instruments of despotism, he had thus commenced his reign, when, to complete the misfortunes of Joannina, the plague made its appear-

ance in 1368. Scarcely, however, had its ravages ceased, than the fury of Thomas again manifested itself in the most dreadful excesses of lawless tyranny. He forcibly married the young Greek girls of the best families to the Servians, seized the property of orphans, and established the torture and the bastinado; in short, he became the great monopolizer of the necessities of life, and forced the inhabitants to cultivate the lands which he had usurped. During this state of things, the Albanians, to whom he had given offence, appeared before the town, under the command of Pierri Leosa; and, after blockading it with various success for three years, the war terminated by the marriage of their chief with Irene, the daughter of Thomas.

The year following this event was memorable for a fatal plague, which desolated the town of Arta, whence it was brought to Joannina in 1378. The Malacassites, taking advantage of this visitation, attacked Joannina. They were, however, defeated with considerable loss, and forced to retire. A general insurrection took place in 1379, which was supported by the Albanians and the Malacassites, who re-appeared before Joannina. A naval engagement took place on the Lake, in which Thomas was victorious.

At length, in the spring of the year 1380, the first Turks who had ever ventured to cross the Pindus appeared in Epirus, under the command of one of their chiefs, called Isaïm. On the 2d

of June they entered and ravaged Vela; nor did they retreat till they had massacred an immense number of Mazarechians and Zenovisians of Politza. Thomas availed himself of the consternation caused by this event to seize upon the fortified positions of Voursina, Kretzoumister, Dragomi, Velchistars, Areochovitza, and the military posts commanding the defiles. This same year he also took the Castel Saint Donat, or Parämythia. The following year he banished the Archbishop Mathieu; but this was the last act of tyranny Heaven allowed him to commit: for, on the 23d of December, 1383, he was assassinated by his captains, Nicephoraki, Raïcaki, Arlavestris, Anthony, and Frank. With him expired the government of the Servians in Epirus.

At the news of the tyrant's death, the inhabitants of Joannina, transported with joy, voluntarily elected, as their despot or lord, Isaos, at that time governor of Cephalonia. He assumed the government on the 30th of January, 1384. His first acts were to recall the Archbishop, to restore all confiscated property, to abolish the *corvée*, and to reinstate the people in their ancient liberties. After a few years' tranquillity, he was obliged, in April 1399, to take the field against the Albanians. In this war he was so unfortunate as to be taken prisoner; but, through the mediation of the General commanding at Corfu, he was ransomed for ten thousand golden sequins. In the month of April 1400, he re-entered his

capital; and a short time afterwards received the submission of the Canton of Pogoni. History does not relate any particulars respecting his death.

We have elsewhere noticed * Ilderim's intention of invading Epirus, and the successful prosecution of his schemes by Amurath, the ninth monarch of the Ottoman dynasty, whose victorious army entered Joannina on the 9th of October, 1431.

The chronicles from which the preceding sketch has been extracted contain nothing farther particularly worthy of notice: they end about the year 1740; since which time the inhabitants of Joannina have preserved some show of liberty under their pachas: this state of things lasted till the nomination of Ali Pacha to the viziership of Epirus, from which epoch may be dated all the misfortunes of a town which has groaned under his iron rod for more than thirty years.

* Page 14.

CHAPTER IV.

Ali's policy.—Prepares to attack Tchormovo.—Destruction of its inhabitants.—Ibrahim Pacha of Berat.—Middle Albania.—Marriage of Mouctar.—Ali's jealousy of Sephir Bey.—Causes him to be poisoned.—Ibrahim Pacha opposes Ali's projects.—Souli.—Description of the Mountain.—Education of the Souliotes.—Ali's first expedition against them.—Is defeated.—His reconciliation with Ibrahim Pacha.—Ali assassinates his own Nephew.—Ali's hypocrisy.—Erects the fortress of Cleissoura.—Preparations against the Souliotes.—Ali's letter to the Souliote Chiefs.—Tzavella joins him.—Surprises the Souliotes.—Tzavella is set at liberty.—His letter to Ali.—The attack upon Souli.—Defeat of Ali.—Is compelled to make peace.—Is accused of treason.—Ali's cunning.—Exculpates himself.—Is declared innocent.—His expedition against the Bossigradians.—Horrible massacre of the Bossigradians.

ALI's first care upon attaining the high situation so long the object of his wishes, was to humble the beys of Joannina, by stripping them of their property; being well convinced that he should thus most effectually prevent their forming intrigues against him in the Divan. At the same time he gained over the Albanians, upon whom he bestowed all employments of consequence; and, by a singular innovation upon established customs, admitted Greeks into his confidence, whose information and abilities he well knew

how to appreciate. Having thus established the *matériel* of his administration, Ali, who, to further his interests, could adopt any set of religious opinions, conciliated the different sects by a pretended conviction of the truth of their tenets. With the Turks he was a zealous Musulman; a pantheist ⁽¹⁾ with the Bektadgis, he professed materialism; and a Christian when in the company of Greeks, he pledged repeated bumpers to the health of the Blessed Virgin. Obsequious to the Ottoman Court, so long as it did not interfere with his individual authority, he was exact in the payment of his tribute to the Sultan; nor did he omit to bribe, by munificent presents, those of the ministry who possessed the greatest influence: to this system he constantly adhered, persuaded that, in absolute governments, gold is more powerful than the despot himself.

Ali, who had thus humbled the beys, and cajoled the people by flattering promises, (for no man ever possessed the gift of a bland and insinuating eloquence in a greater degree than himself,) thought the time had now arrived for fulfilling the last wishes of his mother, and for glutting his own appetite for vengeance; he therefore resolved to direct his arms against Tchormovo, at the base of whose rocks he had suffered the ignominy of defeat, and within whose walls his mother and sister had been subjected to the horrors of violation. What incentives were these

for one who never forgot aught but benefits ! The fear of failure, however, would not permit him to engage in this enterprise, till he had ensured its success by treachery. Tchormovo was taken, and such of the inhabitants who could not effect their escape by flight, perished by fire or in the midst of tortures. A horrible and cruel death is said to have been inflicted upon the nobleman accused of having violated Ali's mother. After this expedition family alliances still farther increased the influence of Ali. His wife Emineh had borne him two sons, Mouctar and Vely, who were now in the flower of their youth, and equally distinguished for their courage and their noble and warlike figure. These he afterwards married to two daughters of Ibrahim, Vizier of Berat. This Pacha was descended from an illustrious family, had married the daughter of Courd Pacha, and was one of the greatest noblemen of the Arnaut race. By this marriage he had some years before deprived young Ali of a lover, and destroyed his hopes of obtaining the pachaship of Berat. Ali, at that time only the Bey of Tepelini, had even been subjected on that occasion to humiliating and ill-founded taunts upon his extraction. Not only did he cherish the hope and desire of revenge, but it so happened that, in this instance, the policy of the new Pacha of Joannina perfectly coincided with the passions of the man.

Middle Albania, subject to the Pacha of Berat, was, from its richness and fertility, the most natural, the most necessary, and at the same time the most easy conquest for the Pacha of Lower Epirus. As chief of the Kleftes, and as Bey of Tepelini, he had successively formed numerous connexions in that country, the localities of which were perfectly known to him. In addition to the proximity and the riches of Middle Albania, the noble race of horses peculiar to it rendered its possession a most desirable object. But it was, above all, important to the Pacha of Joannina to deprive the inferior beys of the independent cantons of Epirus of the constant support which they were accustomed to find in the Pacha of Berat. To take possession of this pachaship by force, and that under the eyes of the Porte, would have been a difficult and hazardous enterprise. Ali undertook to effect his project by indirect means, and at length succeeded with admirable ability and perseverance. Superior to Ibrahim both in power and renown, he first forced him to give his two daughters in marriage to his two sons, Mouctar and Vely; and then, under the pretext of marriage portions, stripped him of one district after another. Ibrahim's first concession was his consent to affiance two of his daughters to Ali's sons, and the third to his nephew. Scarcely however were Mouctar's nuptials solemnized, which promised to guarantee the tranquil-

lity of Albania, than fresh discord burst forth between the families of Berat and Joannina. Ibrahim Pacha received information, by secret letters, that his wife intended to poison him, for the purpose of being afterwards married to Ali, who had instigated her to the deed. Any other Turk but Ibrahim would have immediately inflicted death upon the accused; but this worthy man saw through the plot of his enemy, and was convinced of the innocence of her whose destruction had been determined upon.

This intrigue, defeated by prudence, remained a secret between the two families; it was, however, soon followed by another in which Ali was but too successful. Being extremely jealous of the influence and abilities of Sephir Bey, the brother of Ibrahim, he resolved to rid himself of one so obnoxious; an enterprise the more difficult, as the intended victim was fully on his guard.

As the instrument of his perfidy, Ali selected one of those quacks, so common in the province of Zagori, and promised him forty purses as a reward for the destruction of his enemy. No sooner had the doctor taken the road to Berat, than, the more effectually to cover his plans, Ali caused his wife and children to be arrested as being privy to his flight, and detained them, apparently as hostages, but in reality as pledges for the doctor's secrecy and fidelity. Upon

learning this act of severity, Sephir Bey, thinking that a man so persecuted was deserving of his confidence, took him into his service, and soon became the victim of his unsuspecting confidence. The fatal draught was administered. As soon as the crime had been perpetrated, the assassin, favoured by the emissaries of Ali, took to flight and arrived at Joannina, to render an account of his success, and to receive the promised reward. As was expected, many compliments were paid him on his address, and he received an order upon the treasury for the stipulated sum; but, upon his quitting the seraglio, he was seized and hanged by order of Ali, who was anxious to rid himself of the sole witness of his guilt. He even took advantage of this act of perfidy, by proclaiming that he had caused the assassin of Sephir Bey to be punished; at the same time publishing the particulars of his poisoning, the suspicion of which he artfully contrived should fall upon the wife of Ibrahim Pacha, whom he represented as jealous of her brother-in-law's influence. This base insinuation he took every opportunity of propagating, not only at Constantinople, but wherever he possessed any interest; and, although he doubted its being generally credited, yet he well knew, that although the wounds inflicted by calumny may be healed, their scars will last for ever! Availing himself of the scandals he thus disseminated, he took up

arms, under the pretext of avenging the death of Sephir Bey; and was already meditating fresh aggressions, when a temporary stop was put to his projects by Ibrahim Pacha, who engaged the Souliotes to take up arms against him. Such was the cause of the first war undertaken by the free Christians of Threspotia against Ali Pacha, and which broke out in the spring of the year 1790.

The mountain of Souli, or Caco Souli, so called by the Turks, from the defeat they there sustained, lies to the north of Porto Phanaré, nearly forty miles from Joannina, and about twenty from Santa Maura. The only entrance is by a defile on the south, defended by three towers, nearly a mile distant from each other, and situated on eminences where the road is most difficult: the other three sides are composed of perpendicular precipices. In case of need the Souliotes obtain water by letting down sponges into a small brook on the side of the mountains of Chimæra, the rocks being too uneven to allow the descent of a bucket or any other vessel. This supply cannot be cut off, the brook being defended by the heights of the mountain. The territory of Souli, about twenty-six miles long from north to south, and eight in breadth, contains eighteen villages, of which five are situated in the southern and less difficult part of the valley, towards Louro, and thirteen in the upper part, more rugged and inaccessible. The prin-

cial villages are Mega-Souli, the capital, Navarikos, and Kiapha. A fertile plain of about six square leagues extends along the eastern foot of the mountain. Here the Souliotes have settled for the purpose of cultivating the land, but in times of danger they retire to their fastnesses on the mountains.

Within the space of forty years this singular republic had founded seven new villages, all of which participated in the rights of the community, and formed part of a general league called the *warlike confederation*. These exterior tribes materially contributed to the defence of the country, of which they were the advanced posts. As they were continually liable to be attacked by the Turks, these people, who were ranged around the mountains, on the first alarm transported their families and their booty into the interior of the republic—their natural fortress. Such was the whole defensive system of the Souliotes. Arms, plunder, and the care of their flocks, were their exclusive occupations. To have exercised a trade, or devoted themselves to commerce, would have been considered a degradation.

At ten years of age, the boys, in whom hatred to the Turks was studiously instilled, entered the military profession; and such was the warlike spirit of this people, that in times of danger their women have frequently not only shared,

but even increased the ardour of patriotism by their spirit and example. Their system of warfare was rather desultory than regular, but their wars, particularly between 1786 and 1803, were remarkable for courage and pertinacity. On the breaking out of their first war with Ali Pacha, their army amounted to fourteen hundred experienced soldiers, officered by captains or polemarques, whose command was temporary; and this number, although comparatively so inferior to the forces of Ali, was more than sufficient to defend positions by nature almost impregnable.

Three thousand men whom Ali despatched against them in the spring of 1790, finding them intrenched in their mountains, and not daring to make an attack, seized all the peasants, provisions, and cattle, belonging to the villages of the plain, which the Souliotes had not had time to evacuate. Enraged at this, the mountaineers despatched from their rocks a strong body of chosen troops, which, falling unexpectedly upon the Pacha's troops, routed them with great slaughter, rescued from their hands those whom they were leading into captivity, recovered the spoil with which they were laden, and pursued the fugitives as far as the valley of Joannina, burning all the mosques and houses which lay in their route.

From the fate of this first expedition, Ali found

that the Souliotes were not to be despised ; and of this he was still more convinced in the spring of the following year. Quitting their mountains, the Souliotes ravaged Amphilochia, and were even daring enough to extend their excursions as far as the defiles of Pindus.

Finding that their reduction could not be effected without first depriving them of the support of the Pacha of Berat, Ali represented to him that it was their mutual interest to annihilate a Christian confederation, which only served to destroy the followers of Mahomet, and diminish the power of the Porte. He at length succeeded in gaining over Ibrahim : and such is the hatred of every Musulman against the Christians, that Ibrahim thought he was performing a meritorious action in abandoning the Souliotes to their fate. The marriage of his youngest daughter with Vely Bey, Ali's second son, (already affianced to her,) confirmed their reconciliation.

The marriage ceremony is generally solemnized with much pomp by the Satraps of Albania, but the torch of Hymen was once more destined to enlighten a scene of atrocious and unnatural perfidy. Chaïnitza, Ali's sister, had married her daughter to a bey of Cleïsoura, devoted to the interest of the Vizir Ibrahim, and who, upon that account, was the object of Ali's particular hatred. This antipathy being known at Berat, in the

hopes of effecting a reconciliation with his uncle, he was deputed to conduct to the arms of Vely Bey the favourite daughter of Ibrahim. In the midst of a series of entertainments which followed the nuptials, it was suddenly reported that Ali had been shot at. Although the criminal escaped, yet, as the act was attested by respectable witnesses, it was concluded (as is generally the case under such circumstances) that a conspiracy existed. To give these reports a greater appearance of truth, the police were set to work, and suspicion, which fell upon no one in particular, hovered over all. The Satrap, affecting to be surrounded by enemies, announced that for the future he would only give private audiences, to which no person was to be admitted unless unarmed. The audience chamber was as singular, as the purpose for which it had been expressly constructed horrible, being built upon an arch, and entered only by a ladder which rested against a strong chevaux-de-frise. It was into this den, that, at the end of a few days, Ali invited his nephew, under pretext of conversing with him upon some important affairs. Confiding in the sacred laws of hospitality, the latter kept the appointment. He ascended the ladder without hesitation; the door closed upon him; the page, after having introduced him into the audience chamber, disappeared; but before he could pay the usual compliments, a pistol-ball

struck him to the earth. Being but slightly wounded in the shoulder, he rose time enough to meet the furious attack of Ali. A fierce struggle ensued, and the nephew had nearly gained the door, when his uncle seized a flaming firebrand from the hearth, thrust it into his face, and then despatched him with repeated stabs. The assassination being effected, the Pacha cried out loudly for help, and shewing himself covered with blood, declared he had killed his nephew in self-defence. Before calling for assistance, Ali had slipped a letter into the pocket of his victim, which not only criminated him, but also inculpated his brother, who was accordingly seized and executed; thus in one day Ali rid himself of the only family who could oppose his ambitious views.

Public thanksgivings and a solemn sacrifice were ordered for the discovery of this plot. Prisoners were set at liberty, and Ali received visits of congratulation for his late providential escape. Troops were at the same time despatched to seize the property of the two Beys whom he had murdered; and as the fruit of his crime, he took possession of that part of Epirus which extends to the sources of the Desnitza. It was now, that, to keep the Albanians in check, he erected the fortress of Cleïsoura, which commands the entrance to the defiles of Mounts Asnaüs and Ærope. As to Ibrahim Pacha, abandoned by

his bravest defenders, he could only patiently endure what he could not prevent; and at length was weak enough to cooperate in aggrandizing his bitterest and most powerful enemy.

At the commencement of the spring of 1792, Ali Pacha, having united the forces of the Beys of Threspotia with a corps of auxiliaries, which he had compelled Ibrahim to raise, prepared to attack the Souliotes. In this second expedition his army was nearly nine thousand strong. Induced by his magnificent promises, they had sworn upon the Alcoran to conquer or die.

As his plan was to surprise the Souliotes, he did not communicate the real object of his expedition to his troops, but gave out, that he intended to attack the Mahomedan town of Argyro Castron, which had contemptuously refused a governor nominated by him. Such being his pretended object, he affected to compliment the valour of the Souliotes by inviting them to form a part of his expedition. The letter, written by him to two of their most illustrious captains, was conceived in the following terms.

“ Friends Botzaris and Tzavella,

“ I, Ali Pacha, greet you with all salutation, and kiss your foreheads. Knowing your great courage and zeal, and thinking that I stand in the utmost need of your assistance, I most earnestly intreat that, on the receipt of this letter, you will, without delay, assemble all your palikars, and

join my standard, that I may march against my enemies. The moment is now arrived, in which you can essentially serve me, and give proofs of your friendship and affection. Your pay shall be double that of my Albanians, well knowing that your courage is superior to theirs. As I shall not take the field till your arrival, I intreat that you will march with the utmost expedition. This is all I have to communicate at present, and so farewell."

Botzaris and Tzavella instantly convoked an assembly of their fellow-citizens, before whom the Pacha's letter was read; but it only confirmed their former opinion of Ali's duplicity.

The former, therefore, wrote to the Pacha, that he had received his communication; and that although, for his own part, he had no objection to comply with his request, yet as he could not prevail upon his countrymen to be of the same opinion, he considered it as useless for himself only to appear.

Tzavella, on the contrary, either dazzled by ambition or gained over by the presents of the Pacha, joined the Albanian army with seventy palikars.

Upon the arrival of this detachment, Ali began his march for Argyro Castron. On halting, however, at Dzidza, the Mahometan Albanians surprised and seized the Souliotes at the moment when, unarmed, they were about to indulge re-

pose. The whole of this band, except Tzavella, were sent prisoners to Joannina. Ali in the mean time turned his march towards Souli, and reached the mountain before the next day; but finding the Souliotes on the alert, he deferred his attack, and again tried the effect of artful negotiation; ordering Tzavella to be brought before him, he tried both promises and menaces to prevail upon him to betray his country. To this proposition Tzavella replied, that being only a captain he could not insure the submission of his countrymen, but he would use his utmost endeavours, provided he were set at liberty; and for a proof of his sincerity he would leave his only son, whose life was dearer to him than his own, as a hostage. The terms were accepted; Tzavella was set at liberty, and his son delivered up to the Pacha, to whom, upon arriving at Souli, Tzavella despatched the following letter:

“ Ali Pacha,

“ I glory in having deceived the deceiver. I am prepared to defend my country against a robber. My son is devoted to destruction; but, ere I die, I will avenge his death with a dreadful vengeance. If we be conquerors (and God will bless our arms); I shall have other children, for my wife is still young. Come on then, traitor, if thou darest; for I thirst for vengeance, and am thy sworn and mortal foe.”

Although much exasperated at the failure of

his scheme, Ali did not judge it expedient to sacrifice young Tzavella to his fury, but sent him to his son Vely Bey, at Joannina. Upon being brought before him, he replied to every question with a presence of mind and a firmness which surprised every one. Upon Vely's telling him, that he only awaited Ali's orders to have him roasted at a slow fire, "I do not fear you," replied the courageous youth; "the same fate awaits you or your father, should you fall into our hands!" Vely ordered him to be thrown into a dungeon, and fed on bread and water.

The Souliotes, according to their custom, had abandoned the villages of the plain, and placed their troops, which amounted in all to three hundred men, in the different defiles: here they awaited the enemy's approach. Encouraged by some partial successes they had gained in skirmishing, and emboldened by seeing the Christians retreat before them, the Turks, on the 20th of July, commenced a general attack upon the Souliotes. They advanced sabre in hand, driving the Christians into the defiles of Trypa and Saint Vinerande. Never had the Mahometans penetrated so far into the mountains. At sight of their danger, the Souliotes raised a cry which resounded even in the deepest recesses of the mountains. At this signal, which announced the public danger, the women, headed by Mosco,

the wife of Captain Tzavella, rushed forward and joined in the general defence. Animated by the same generous passion, the love of their country, the Souliotes, both men and women, seemed now to have but one soul, and, as it were, but one body: seizing by collective strength immense masses of rock, they rolled them down with hideous crash on the heads of their invaders. The Turkish column was broken to its very centre. In the mean time the retreat of those who had dared to penetrate into the mountains was cut off by a sortie of the garrison of Tichos. After having made a dreadful slaughter of their invaders, the victorious Souliotes rushed upon the troops which still remained with the Pacha, and who, terrified by this reverse of fortune, abandoned the field of battle. Ali himself was compelled to fly; and so hot was the pursuit, that he killed two horses ere he reached Joannina. He could only rally a thousand men, and with these he entered his capital during the night. To conceal his defeat, he preceded his arrival by a proclamation, forbidding the inhabitants to stand at the windows, or even to appear in the streets.

By a junction with the Chimæriotes, the Souliotes shortly afterwards found themselves sufficiently strong to commence offensive operations, and finally succeeded in compelling Ali to conclude a peace upon their own terms. (°)

Scarcely was the treaty signed, than Ali found himself implicated in an affair that threatened his political existence, and to clear himself from which required the utmost efforts of the crafty Albanian.

For a considerable time he had been engaged in active correspondence with a foreign power, by whose assistance he hoped to be enabled to erect Greece into an independent state, of which he was to be nominated the prince.

A considerable portion of this correspondence, bearing Ali's seal, had fallen into the hands of the government; and a Capidgi Bachi was immediately despatched to Joannina, to institute an enquiry.

Upon the arrival of this officer, he immediately proceeded to lay before Ali the "DAMNING proofs" of his intelligence with the enemies of the Sublime Porte; and for this once, truth appeared to prevail. "In the opinion of his Highness," said Ali, "I must be culpable, for this is my seal, and I cannot deny it; but the body of the letter is not in the writing of my secretaries; some one anxious for my destruction must have surreptitiously used my seal. I entreat you to allow me a few days, in order to discover the iniquitous plot by which I have been compromised in the opinion of my master, and in that of all good Musulmans. May God enable me to establish my innocence, which, notwithstanding these depo-

sitions against me, is as pure as the great fountain of light!"

After a lapse of a few days, in which Ali affected to be engaged in a secret investigation of the plot formed against him, but which in reality were passed in forming plans for extricating himself from this critical situation, he sent for a Greek, of whose fidelity he was assured, and to whom he in part communicated his design. "Thou art assured," said he, "that I have ever esteemed thee, and the moment is now arrived in which I will make thy fortune! From this day, consider thyself as my son; my palace shall be ever open to thee, and thy family I shall henceforth consider as my own. In return for these benefits, I only require one trifling service at thy hands. Thou knowest that rascally Capidgi Bachi, who has arrived here within these few days: he has brought with him certain papers, bearing my seal, which are to be employed in extorting money from me. I have already given too much; and, except to such a good servant as thou, am unwilling to part with more. Therefore, my son, when I give thee notice, thou must repair to the Mekeme, and there, before the Capidgi Bachi and Cadi, declare that *thou* art the writer of letters attributed to me, and that, abusing the confidence I reposed in thee, thou hadst made use of my seal in order to give them an official value.

The Greek at these words turned pale, and was about to reply. “What dost fear, my dear friend (ἀγαπημένε μου)? Am I not thy kind master? What can alarm thee when under my protection? Would the Capidgi Bachi dare to act here without my permission? Thank Heaven and the Prophet! Ali Pacha is not yet fallen so low as to allow any one to interfere with his rights. With a subject I would not condescend to use entreaties; but with thee—but I know thy fidelity; and I swear to thee, *in the name of the Prophet, and by my own and my children's safety*, that no harm shall befall thee *from the Capidgi Bachi*.”

The Greek, unable to escape from the fangs of the merciless Ali, was fain to comply, and promised to give the required testimony. He was immediately dismissed; and Ali, ordering the Capidgi Bachi into his presence, said to him, with much apparent emotion, “I have at length discovered the infernal plot formed against me. The author of it is in my power, and I have promised him my pardon, provided he make an ample confession. Repair, therefore, to the Mekeme, and let the Cadi and the Judges be assembled to hear the confession of the delinquent.”

As may be supposed, the Court was not long in assembling, and the Greek, upon appearing, was asked in presence of the Capidgi Bachi, whether he knew the hand-writing of the letters? —“*It is mine.*”—*This seal?*—“*It is that of my*

master, Ali Pacha.—*How came it at the bottom of these letters?*—“*I myself affixed it, abusing the confidence of my master, who occasionally entrusted me with it for the purpose of signing his orders.*”—*That is sufficient, withdraw!*

Ali, anxious for the success of his scheme, was entering the court-yard of the Cadi's house, when a signal from his Balouk-bachi informed him of its successful issue. According to previous orders, the Greek, upon quitting the Court, was immediately seized and hanged, without being allowed to utter a single syllable.—The Satrap then entered the justice-chamber, and demanded of the Cadi the result of the enquiry.—His innocence was declared by acclamation. “It is well!” said Ali; “the guilty author of this scandal is now no more, he has just suffered death by my orders.—Thus perish all the enemies of our glorious Sultan!” Copies of the examination were then taken, for the purpose of being forwarded to Constantinople, and the good word of the Capidgi Bachi was ensured by a present of fifty purses.—Ali, at the same time, sent rich presents to many members of the Divan, by whose influence he was again restored to the confidence of the Grand Seignior.

The more effectually to blind the Government as to his own designs, he offered his services as Devendgi Pacha, in clearing Rumelia of the numerous banditti by which it was infested. His first expedition, headed by one of his lieutenants,

was directed against the Bossigradians. It was, however, unsuccessful; but Ali, far from testifying any displeasure, sent to compliment the Bossigradians upon their valour. In the letter he addressed to them, he said, "*that being a sincere admirer of their valour, he wished to number them among his most faithful servants;*" offering, *if they would enter into his service, to give them honourable and lucrative appointments!* Seduced by this offer, and tempted by the desire of gain, the Albanians of Bossigrad accepted his proposals, and in a short time their town was stripped of its bravest defenders. Ali immediately despatched some chosen troops, who, by unfrequented roads, traversed the Pindus, penetrated into Bossigrad, and put to the sword all who offered resistance. The whole of the Bossigradians, also, who had settled at Joannina, suffered death by the hand of the executioner. Such was the end of a people, whose destruction opened to the Pacha the road to Caulonias, a most important position, it being the key both to Middle and Upper Albania, which province he was not long in attacking upon its Macedonian frontier.

CHAPTER V.

Cara Mustapha declared *fermanli*.—Ali summoned to take the field against him.—Seizes Geortcha and Ochrida.—Impolitic conduct of the Souliotes.—Treaty of Campo Formio.—The French take possession of Corfu.—Policy of the Venetians.—Ali cajoles the French General.—Inconsistency of the French.—Ali's attack upon Nivitza-Bouba, and Santa Basil.—Massacre of their Inhabitants.—Ali obtains the surname of *Aslan*.—Marches against Oglou.—Bonaparte's arrival in Egypt.—Ali endeavours to gain possession of Santa Maura and Corfu.—Commences operations against Prevéza.—His treachery towards General Roza.—Attacks Butrinto.—The French evacuate Butrinto.—Attack upon Preveza.—Desertion of the Souliotes.—Surrender of Preveza.—Massacre of its inhabitants.—Horrible cruelties of Ali —Is made a Pacha of three Tails.—Is present at the siege of Corfu.—His designs upon Santa Maura.—Takes Butrinto and Gominitza.—Ali's Troops.—Corfu taken by the Allies.—Ali is made Viceroy of Rumeliâ.

ALI's expedition against the Bossigradians was scarcely terminated, when Albania experienced one of those political storms so common in Turkey. Scodra had become a nucleus for rebellion, and its vizier, Cara Mustapha, having incurred the anger of the Porte, was declared *fermanli*, and placed under the ban of the empire. In consequence of this *civil and religious anathema*,

the pachas, beys, and other great feudatories, received orders to march against the rebel.

As Ali, who had been summoned, found, in this instance, his duty not incompatible with his interests, he was one of the first to take the field, and to commence the work of self-aggrandizement, under the pretence of serving his sovereign. This being his object, instead of joining the Rumelie-valisee, who had taken the road to Dibres, he marched in the direction of Caulonais. By this manœuvre, having first seized the strong position of Geortcha, he took Ochrida by storm, and put its inhabitants to the sword. Once in possession of Ochrida, he gained over to his party the neighbouring beys, the masters of Western Macedonia, who were naturally jealous of the authority of the Porte.

The province of Ochrida, situated in the mountains between Macedonia and Middle Albania, includes within itself all the defiles which lead to the pachaship of Berat on the road from Constantinople. Thus, by his skilful and judicious combinations, Ali had not only very nearly cut off the communication between Constantinople and Upper Albania; but also, by flanking the possessions of Ibrahim Pacha of Berat on the north, he could in future harass him on every side, except the sea: by gaining the strong post of Geortcha, he had also acquired an admirable military position, which covered a great part of

his dominions on the north, while on the east it was the key to the entire range of the Pindus which separates Epirus from Thessaly.

Constantly keeping the same object in view, Ali thus intrenched and fortified himself without in the least degree awakening the jealousy of the Souliotes. Instead of seizing the opportunity of attacking Joannina, the defence of which, during Ali's absence in Upper Albania, had been entrusted to his sons Mouctar and Vely, two inexperienced young men, they had confined their military exploits to making incursions and committing ravages which dishonoured and disgraced their cause. On their side, the Beys, being almost constantly at war among themselves, reciprocally weakened each other. Such was the then anarchical state of Epirus, that the people in general wished for, and favoured as much as possible, the successive encroachments of their Pacha, preferring the tyranny of one to that of the many.

To the war against Cara-Mustapha, the advantages of which had been wholly reaped by Ali, whom the Porte, unable to refuse, had invested with the honours of the fallen vizier, succeeded the revolt of Paswan Oglou, who soon after raised the standard of rebellion upon the ramparts of Vidin: the Ottoman empire seemed fast approaching to destruction under the feeble and pacific reign of Selim. The spirit of revolt had

successively actuated all the Pachas. More cautious, Ali had as yet only thought of fortifying and aggrandizing himself, when an unexpected event aroused his whole attention, and with it that of Epirus in general. The conquest of Italy by Bonaparte produced the treaty of Campo-Formio between France and Austria, in 1797. By virtue of that treaty, the French Directory, after having bartered away the independence of the Venetian Republic, and degraded from its rank among the nations a people so renowned both for their antiquity and wisdom, seized the Ionian Isles, together with their dependencies upon the Continent, viz. Preveza, Vonitza, Parga, and Butrinto. This intelligence soon reached the court of Ali Pacha: that artful politician perceived, that instead of having for his neighbours a government, which, unconscious of its own decrepitude, had grown old in the midst of Europe, a colossal power would soon be established near him which had erected itself into a military republic, as turbulent as it was ambitious. On the 5th July, 1797, General Gentili, acting in the name of the French Republic, planted the tricoloured standard on the fortress of Corfu, which was fortified with five hundred and ten pieces of cannon. The arrival of the French created a strong sensation in the islands of the Ionian seas; and their proximity to the Pacha of Joannina was productive of much unea-

siness to him. It was of the utmost importance to Ali that the French should not adopt the same system of politics towards Epirus as had been followed by the Venetian Republic. The Venetians settled at Corfu and on its opposite banks, having remarked the tendency to anarchy which prevailed amongst the Albanian noblesse, had organized a league, composed of the Beys along the coast, and of all the independent tribes, who, although divided by their individual interests, never failed to unite against the encroachments of the Pachas. Thus, even in latter times, the Venetians covered their *terra-firma* possessions from Butrinto to Preveza, by the Confederation of the Chimæra, of Conispolis, and Philates, which latter held in check the Pacha of Delvino, their nearest neighbour. On the other hand, by means of the Beys of Margarita and Paramithia, they arrested the enterprises of the Pacha of Joannina, without even striking a blow; while, to keep down the Mahometan Beys, they made use of the Christian tribes of Souli and Acroce-
raunia: by these means they had therefore obtained a great preponderance in the affairs of Albania. In addition to which, about the year 1788, the Republic of Venice had obtained a firman which forbade the Pacha of Epirus to erect any battery within the distance of an Italian mile from the sea, so that he could not even fortify his custom-house, situated near Salamona, at

the extremity of the Gulf of Ambracia. While Venice retained its power, these dispositions were rigidly observed.

It might readily be conceived what advantage the French would derive from following the same line of policy. Ali Pacha easily convinced the Ottoman Porte, that the advantages which were harmless in the hands of a pacific power, would be fatal to the Turkish interests if granted to an ambitious and subjugating one. His fears were, however, soon quieted by the representations and conduct of the French. General Gentili, by order of Bonaparte, who was then commander-in-chief of the army of Italy, despatched the Adjutant-general Roza to Joannina, for the purpose of sounding Ali, and, if possible, gaining him over to the French interests. Ali loaded with honours and presents Bonaparte's emissary, who came to *fraternize* with the Pacha of Epirus. He gave him the *fraternal hug*, and received from his hands the tri-coloured cockade. Whenever he came to court he received him with the honours due to the Pachas, and openly called him his friend. Having admitted him to the greatest intimacy, he gave him a young Greek in marriage, named Zoitza, and was himself present at the nuptials. The credulity and vanity of the French emissary were so great, that he at length persuaded himself he was destined to be a most important personage under the auspices of

Ali. Taking advantage of his inexperience, the crafty Arnaut easily persuaded Bonaparte's envoy, that he was, and ever would be, the best and most faithful ally of the French Republic. Upon this footing he treated with the Government of the Ionian Isles, and complaining of the hostile conduct of the Venetians, who had never ceased affording indirect assistance to his enemies, or rather to those of the Porte, he expressly required that they should abandon so disingenuous a line of policy. As innovation of every kind was the prevailing fashion of those times, the wise maxims of the Venetians were consequently abandoned; and the pretended champions of liberty permitted the Satrap to fit out armaments for attacking the independent nations of Nivitza-Bouba and Santa Basil.

These two tribes, situated in the maritime chain of the Ceraunian Mountains, enjoyed freedom under the protection of the Vizier of Berat, to whom they paid a small tribute. Their condition was too prosperous not to excite the envy of the Satrap of Joannina, their freedom was his bane. For a long time he had been seeking an opportunity of disturbing their tranquillity; but the jealousy of the Venetians had hitherto prevented him from forming any naval expeditions. Their vigilance in this respect was redoubled so soon as the Porte bestowed upon Ali the Vaivodilick of Arta, by which he became

possessed of the ports in the celebrated gulf, called by the ancients the Sinus Ambracius.

On the continental side his schemes of ambition were opposed by the Tziamides; while Mustapha, the son of Selim, Pacha of Delvino, whom the Grand Seignior had confirmed in the possessions and office of his father, cut him off from the most direct road to Acroceraunia. His only resource, therefore, was in fitting out a fleet: this, however, he could not do without first cajoling the French; and in this he succeeded, by flattering the national vanity and enthusiasm of the young republicans, and by gratifying their passions with luxurious entertainments and Grecian women.⁽¹⁾

After having obtained the desired permission, Ali wholly occupied himself with the thoughts of vengeance. His expedition, which was fitted out with the greatest secrecy in the Ambracian Gulf, set sail in Passion Week of the year 1798, and arrived on Easter Eve, about sunset, in the Bay of Louevvo, where the troops disembarked in silence.

The resurrection of our Saviour is celebrated by the Greek Christians with peculiar solemnities. The different families meet together to eat the Paschal lamb; all discords cease; and in the countries under Turkish government, Christian prisoners are set at liberty that they may participate in the family banquet. At midnight they

assemble in their churches; absorbed in prayer and in the outpourings of the spirit, they wait till the joyful tidings of *Christ is arisen* are announced by the priest from the interior of the sanctuary; then rising, they give each other the kiss of peace, and indulge the transports of religious joy. Scarcely had the sacramental words been uttered, scarcely had they vibrated through the hearts of the Christians, when the Turks, who had advanced under cover of the night, forced open the doors of the churches, with hideous shouts, and threw themselves, like tigers, upon their defenceless victims. The ministers of Heaven, while yet invoking the succour of their God, were butchered by the sanguinary followers of Mahomet; the altars of him who came to bring peace upon the earth streamed with the blood of his defenceless disciples. The few who escaped the horrors of that dreadful night, experienced only—

“ Change of pain,
A bitter change, severer for severe;”

for the next morning they suffered by the hands of the executioner. In one instance, a family of fourteen individuals were seen all hanging upon the same tree, which, in consequence, has ever since been called “ *the Tree of Martyrs*.” Many were cut to pieces, others perished by fire; to be only beheaded was considered as a mercy.

Thus was the whole population of two of the principal tribes of Acroceraunia exterminated, to the number of six thousand individuals. The terror caused by this carnage acquired Ali the prompt and voluntary submission of all the towns upon the coast, as far as the port of Panormo; these the Satrap immediately fortified, as well as the monastery of St. Basil, after having massacred all its inmates.

This catastrophe, in which Christians only had been sufferers, was generally agreeable to the Mahometans and to the Divan, and procured Ali the surname of *Aslan*, or the Lion, by which appellation he was styled in the military firmans addressed to him by the Divan, when engaged in the expedition against the rebel Vizier of Vidin.

Not less than forty Pachas of Europe and Asia Minor, under the command of Husseïn, the Captain-pacha and Grand Vizier, were assembled before Vidin for the purpose of subduing Paswan Oglou.

Scarcely, however, had Ali joined them, at the head of eight thousand men, when the intelligence arrived of Bonaparte's disembarkation; and Ali, foreseeing that war would shortly break out between France and Turkey, easily obtained the Grand Vizier's permission to return to Joannina.

On his arrival at his pachaship, instead of giving them the least alarm, he appeared more favourable than ever to the French; and wrote

himself, without loss of time, to the government of Corfu, protesting that he considered present circumstances as the most fortunate that could happen, since they afforded him an opportunity of giving more decided proofs of his attachment to France, whose faithful ally he was determined to remain: he added, that they must not be surprised if he recalled his troops from Vidin and raised fresh ones, his only intention being to preserve an armed neutrality with respect to his own government. The French General, deceived by these assurances, which were still more strengthened by the representations of the Pacha's agents, was not in the least aware of the consequences of Ali's armaments, who was already preparing for a war which had been provoked by the most unjust aggression.

In vain had Bonaparte, after invading Egypt, despatched an advice-boat to France, with orders to touch at the Ionian Isles, for the purpose of giving the alarm to the Generals commanding at Corfu. To the last they were in the dark as to the intentions of Ali Pacha, who, always attentive to profit by circumstances, foresaw that the Ionian Isles might one day change masters.

Ali received early intelligence from his agents at the Ottoman Porte, that a declaration of war against France was impending: that a considerable force both of Turks and Russians was pre-

paring to wrest the Seven Isles from a power which had manifested its intention of converting them into a central position, from whence it might attack European Turkey. Ali immediately resolved to obtain possession of them by stratagem. He offered his alliance to the French Generals, upon condition that they gave up to him Santa Maura and the military positions on the Continent, and admitted a part of his troops into the fortress of Corfu, for the purpose of assisting in its defence. This negotiation, however, did not succeed, either from its appearing to be merely an artifice on the part of Ali, or from its proposals being contrary to the instructions given by the French government to the Generals commanding in the Ionian Archipelago.

Notwithstanding the utmost exertions of General Chabot, who had succeeded General Gentili in the government of Corfu, his troops were ill provided for defence: this was to be attributed to the want of quick and frequent communications with the Army of Italy. Since the expedition to Egypt, almost all the French ships of war had quitted the Adriatic, and the land forces had been reduced to three thousand six hundred men. Unable any longer to blind himself to his critical situation, General Chabot determined to undertake a military progress throughout the isles and the continental districts of his division. He set

off on the 13th Sept. 1798, accompanied by General Verrières, commandant of the artillery, and several other staff officers.

On the other hand, Ali Pacha, decided as to his political conduct, and affecting a great zeal for the interests of the Crescent, despatched courier after courier to Constantinople, to represent to the Divan, that as the maritime towns formerly belonging to the Venetians commanded the most important line of coast, they necessarily cut off Epirus from all communication with the sea, and deprived it of every means of exterior military defence. He added, that till this line of coast were in his power, he should neither have freedom of commerce nor security from attack. Having thus inspired the Divan with the resolution of seizing the Ex-Venetian towns upon the continent, he offered to act in concert with the allies, by undertaking himself the reduction of these towns, at present in the power of the French. His offers having been accepted, he received full discretionary powers, and immediately commenced operations against Preveza.

General Chabot had already resolved to secure this point from all attack, and having reconnoitred, near Nicopolis, a position which would allow of being strongly fortified, he ordered a line of intrenched posts to be constructed, terminated by two strong redoubts, capable of keeping up a cross fire.

Ali, having learnt from his spies that three hundred Frenchmen, and from five to six hundred Prevezans, were incessantly working at the intrenched camp at Nicopolis, ordered his lieutenants, about the close of September, to assemble the Turkish and Albanian troops for an expedition against the French. His orders were executed so promptly, that early in October a considerable number of Turco-Albanians made their cantonments in the villages near the fort of Butrinto, and sent out patrols in advance. That no doubts might remain of his fidelity towards the Ottoman Porte, Ali commenced his hostilities against the French by an act of perfidy.

He wrote to the Adjutant-general Roza, who commanded at Corfu during the absence of General Chabot, inviting him to a conference in the village of Philates, situated in Lower Albania. This officer, on whom Ali had lavished innumerable marks of friendship and esteem, was perfectly persuaded of the sincerity and honour of the Pacha's soul, and therefore met him without the least hesitation or mistrust. Ali received him with the utmost kindness, invited him to dinner, and during the repast artfully succeeded in drawing from him much information respecting the military situation of Corfu. The dinner ended, he ordered the French general to be seized, tied upon a horse, and conducted to Joannina: there he was thrown into a loathsome and infectious

dungeon. Shortly afterwards he was sent to Constantinople, accused of being a spy sent from Corfu to excite a revolution in Epirus. He died a prisoner in the Seven Towers in 1799. Before the knowledge of this base act had transpired, Ali made use of the same stratagem towards the commandant of the fort of Butrinto; but this officer declined going in person, and sent as his substitute a sub-lieutenant named Steil, accompanied by the Greek chaplain belonging to the fort: both of whom suffered the same fate as Roza. Instantly throwing off the mask, Ali followed up this double perfidy by an attack upon the fort of Butrinto, which was almost entirely invested by a corps of Albanians. General Chabot hastened to its assistance with a reinforcement. Whilst engaged in reconnoitring, he was suddenly surrounded by Ali's cavalry, and was on the point of committing suicide rather than fall into the hands of such enemies, when he was fortunately delivered by some of his own grenadiers. "General," said one of them to him, "I have just seen the head of one of my wounded comrades severed from his body;" and such indeed was the ferocious custom of the Albanian troops. The French had just time to re-enter the fort, after having lost fifty men and two officers. The generals having passed over to Corfu, the council of war decided that they should evacuate and destroy the fort of Butrinto,

which was immediately done; but they thought it expedient to defend Preveza, as if an isolated promontory could be of the least importance. Already the most wealthy inhabitants, terrified by the threats of Ali, had fled to Corfu and Santa Maura, carrying with them their most precious effects. Entrusted with the defence of Preveza, General Lasalcette arrived at Nicopolis, resumed the labours of the camp, and armed the Greeks. They appeared animated with the greatest courage, having every thing to lose if Ali were victorious. The offer also of the Souliotes, who had volunteered to march under the French standard, was accepted. Arms and ammunition were furnished them with the utmost expedition. Impelled by the two-fold desire of vengeance and of liberty, and supported by the conquerors of Italy, what could not the Greeks achieve?—Such was the fond idea of the French generals.

Ali was now anxious to attack the French before they could be defended by their new fortifications. A single redoubt only, with part of the intrenchments, had been raised, when, on the 22d October, Ali was discovered advancing at the head of four thousand infantry and two or three thousand cavalry. He was accompanied by his son Mouctar, who had the reputation of surpassing even his father in cruelty. Gen. Lasalcette, the number of whose troops did not exceed seven hundred men, of whom four hundred only were

French, immediately posted his troops behind the line of their yet unfinished intrenchments. About midnight, Ali's advanced guard, composed of five hundred chosen Albanians, marched to the attack of the redoubt, but were repulsed with loss, and driven back as far as the ancient theatre of Nicopolis.

The Souliotes, however, did not make their appearance, and a fatal irresolution was apparent throughout the ranks of the Greek auxiliaries. The emissaries of Ali had found means to introduce themselves at Preveza, and to sow the seeds of terror, discord, and disaffection, amongst the troops. At daybreak, his whole army descended from the heights opposite the camp, brandishing their arms and shouting their savage war-cries. On the first shot being fired, 'Ali ascended the tower of Micalitcheli; his army traversing the valley in despite of volleys of grape and musquetry, rushed upon the French line with an impetuosity equalled only by the courage with which they were received by the Gallo-Greeks, who were formed into two ranks, supported by several pieces of cannon, the fire from which strewed the earth every instant with the bodies of their enemies. Dismayed for a moment, the Albanians gave way; but this first impression of terror was soon succeeded by a blind fury excited by the animating words of Mouctar, and the conviction that their every

movement was observed by the eagle eye of the Pacha. Returning with tenfold fury to the charge, they again rushed upon the centre of the line: all was now lost through the cowardice of some of the Prevezan officers, who, taking to flight, were followed by the soldiers whom they commanded. Observing the disorder in his centre, the French General endeavoured to close in his wings, but it was too late. Mouctar, at the head of his cavalry and supported by the Turkish infantry, rushed into the open space, and both wings of the French army were surrounded at one and the same time. All hope of safety was now abandoned:—but how many prodigies of valour signalized the dying moments of this handful of heroes! Gabory, Richemont, your noble bearing in this unequal contest has insured you the immortality of history! Many of the French soldiers, in isolated groups, opposed the overwhelming masses of Turks, amongst whom they made a dreadful carnage ere they resigned their gallant breath. General Lasalcette, having rallied five-and-twenty men of different ranks and corps, had just succeeded in entering a redoubt; but, finding it on the point of being carried by assault, he hoisted a white handkerchief at the end of his sabre. At this signal the Turks entered the fort, and he surrendered to one of Ali's lieutenants. The rest followed his example, with the exception of one sub-lieutenant and two

grenadiers, who preferred dying sword in hand—they were immediately cut to pieces. Like Octavius, Ali had only descended from his place of safety to assist in massacring the wounded and pillaging the vanquished. Volumes of smoke and flame already announced that the inhabitants of Preveza were expiating the shameful desertion of their countrymen. In vain they deprecated the fury of the conqueror: their females violated or saving themselves in boats, their houses falling in the midst of a vast conflagration, were melancholy presages of the fate reserved for them. In the mean time, Ali, on horseback, at the head of his body guards, was seen riding in all directions to put an end to the carnage, and save the few Frenchmen whom death had already spared; but the coming night could alone stop the effusion of blood. The Turco-Albanians had already raised upon the field of battle a horrible trophy of their victory, by piling up the heads of the slain. The next day the sun rose upon a scene of barbarity still more cruel and ferocious. Ali thirsted for fresh blood with which to celebrate his victory; and, like the Angel of Death, hovered over the smoking ruins of Preveza. Seated in the balcony of the custom-house, which the fire had spared, he ordered the one hundred and sixty Greeks, who had been taken in arms and had implored a capitulation, to be brought before him. They were successively dragged out by the hair

from the hold of a vessel, into which they had been forced the night before. In vain, did they raise their supplicating hands ; Ali only answered their cries for mercy by giving the signal at which the still imploring lips were made to bite the dust.

At the fall of each unfortunate victim the bystanders raised a shout of exultation, and immediately stripped the body ! Towards the close of this bloody tragedy, the arm of the executioner, a negro, became nerveless, his knees shook, and whether from fatigue or suffocation produced by the overpowering effluvia of human blood, he fell upon the bodies of his still reeking victims, and expired in presence of Ali, of whose cruelty he had been the active and ferocious instrument.

But the misfortunes of Nicopolis and Preveza were not yet terminated. About a hundred French prisoners, conducted towards a hideous and appalling mass of what appeared to be a mixture of blood and hair, at length recognized the heads of their late unfortunate countrymen. Clubs and sabres were then employed to force them to the loathsome task of stripping them of the skin, which they were afterwards compelled to salt, and convey to Joannina. It is impossible to describe the indignities and horrid cruelties these poor beings were condemned to suffer on their journey to, and arrival in, Albania. From

thence they were marched to Constantinople, through the northern part of Greece, amidst the inclemency of one of the severest winters ever remembered: many of these wretches perished with cold, hunger, and fatigue. No sooner did an unfortunate shew symptoms of weariness, than one of his savage conductors struck him to the earth, severed his head from his body, and gave it to his companions to carry. On their arrival at Constantinople, both officers and men were immured in the prison appropriated to the slaves. Three only, General Lasalcette, Adjutant-general Roza; and Brigadier Hotte, were imprisoned in the Seven Towers.

Exploits so terrific acquired Ali an astonishing celebrity; and as a recompense, the Ottoman Porte raised him to the high dignity of a Pacha with three tails. His power kept pace with his reputation. The Albanians, whose courage had been considerably increased by their recent successes, were in military occupation of Butrinto, Preveza, Vonitza, and all the coast, whence they could overawe the Ambracian Gulf and the southern portion of the Souli Mountains. Ali Pacha was therefore now enabled to observe the movements of the Souliotes, as well as of the inhabitants of Parga, who had so often afforded protection to his enemies. Such was his European celebrity, that Lord Nelson, when in the Ægean Sea, despatched one of his officers to

compliment him upon his victory at Preveza, and to assure him how desirous he had been of landing upon the coasts of Nicopolis, and of embracing the *Hero of Epirus*.

Elated with success, complimented by Nelson, and loaded with honours by his own government, Ali Pacha was invited by the Allies to assist at the siege of Corfu, already commenced by the combined squadrons of Russia and the Porte. The former, seconded by the islanders, had just made themselves masters of some fortified positions. Although the season was far advanced, the strait which separates Corfu from the adjacent coasts of Epirus still retained all the charms of a rich and varied scenery. Innumerable vessels, some with spreading canvass rapidly cutting the waves to reconnoitre a sail in the distant horizon, others boldly solicitous to provoke the fire of the French artillery, imparted unusual animation to the scene. The difference of construction, the diversity in the rigging, masts, and colours of the various vessels, from a frigate down to one of the small sea-boats, continually plying between the fleet and the shore, the gay pendants, among which the Imperial crescent glittered on a scarlet ground, all contributed to impart fresh interest to those seas which had already witnessed so many and such glorious battles. The mistrust, however, existing between two nations whom a forced policy had

momentarily united, was very perceptible, might we be allowed to judge from the apparent discrepancies in their reports, and even want of uniformity in their signals. There were also other indications sufficiently strong to remove all doubt; for if the Russians affected to treat the Turks with contempt, the latter did not conceal the inveterate hatred, and decided antipathy for allies, whom they would much more readily have regarded as mortal foes.

Ali was too great a politician to let slip so favourable an opportunity of furthering his own views at the expense of his allies, and he had already decreed to Santa Maura the fate of Preveza, when the prompt measures of a Greek officer in the Russian service saved that devoted island. Parga was the next object of his ambitious views, but there also his designs were frustrated by the Russian Admiral Ocksacoff, who took possession of that place in the name of his sovereign. The towns of Butrinto and Gomenitza, situated upon the same coast, were not so fortunate; and Ali having succeeded in his attempt upon them, encamped at Butrinto, near the valley called Mauroli. This position opened to him the sea, a great advantage, as it was not without uneasiness that he saw the Russians such near neighbours to his pachaship. To cover his frontiers from a sudden invasion, which he apprehended as much from the Russians as

from the Turks, upon whose friendly disposition he could no longer rely, he caused a corps of observation to advance, which at the same time took part in the operations before Corfu. The number of his soldiers who at various times had been employed in that island, amounted to 6000 men. This position secured him from all surprise from without, and at the same time enabled him to take advantage of circumstances. The poverty of the country was amply supplied by his resources in the interior. The siege of Corfu was being successfully prosecuted, and Ali impatiently awaited the event, when a Turkish pirate, who was crossing the strait, received orders to bring-to in the anchorage. He had on board several French prisoners, who, after having formed part of the expedition into Egypt, had been captured in their passage to Malta or Italy. Two of them, M. Gérard and the Adjutant-general Beauvais, were delivered up to Cadir-Bey, the Turkish admiral. But Orouschs (the name of the pirate) had secreted in the hold M. Poitevin, Colonel of Engineers; M. Charbonnel, Colonel of Artillery; and M. Bessières, one of the *Savans* who had accompanied Bonaparte into Egypt. Such was the horror of their situation, that not only were they chained, and subjected to the most degrading insults, but the sole allowance they daily received for supporting a lingering existence, was a glass of fetid water, and a piece of biscuit, mouldy and full of worms.

Notwithstanding all the pirate's precautions, it transpired that he had on board prisoners of rank, the owners of portmanteaus filled with sequins. This report, so greedily swallowed by the Turkish soldiery, was not listened to by their generals. In the interval, as the vessels which were at anchor interrupted the evolutions of the Russian admiral, they all received sailing orders, and the pirate amongst others. He instantly made for the port of Butrinto, near which was encamped the army of Ali Pacha, whose hands were still reeking with the blood of the Frenchmen slain at the battle of Nicopolis. Scarcely had the pirate anchored in view of the camp, than it was reported that he had on board prisoners of great consequence. Ali, to be convinced of the truth, came himself in his *kirlanguitch*, a Turkish word signifying a swallow, which is given to these small boats on account of their lightness, and the velocity with which they sail. He ordered the pirate to come on board his vessel, who immediately declared the truth, and offered to give up the prisoners. His proposal being accepted, the French officers were immediately released from their confinement, their chains knocked off, and themselves presented to the Pacha. Whatever might be the fate which awaited them, it could not but be preferable to that from which they had just been delivered. The Pacha took possession of their papers, and returned to the camp. The prisoners would have been totally

deserted in the midst of the army, had it not been for Ali's doctor, named Tasoni, an adventurer by profession, who had obtained the enviable post of being his *grammaticos*, or secretary. This person, who spoke French with elegance and fluency, acted as their interpreter to Ali, and for a long time remained their firm friend and protector. Through his medium they learnt that the Pacha bitterly complained of the want of confidence manifested by the French generals commanding in Corfu, with whom he had wished to become allied, in order to make common cause together. Being at this period dissatisfied with the Russians, he perhaps sincerely regretted that the French had not taken notice of his overtures previously to the commencement of hostilities. But whatever might be the fact, he treated the prisoners with humanity, and even, by means of his *grammaticos*, released their servants from the clutches of the pirate. For twelve days they remained at the camp of Butrinto. There, robbed of all their property, and almost naked, they had to endure the inclemencies of an early and severe winter.

Ali's army was composed of Albanians inured to the cold temperature of the mountains, and who, clad in thick cloaks, seemed to bid defiance to the attacks of frost. During the day they were engaged in wrestling in the camp, or in dancing and singing their national songs transmitted to

them from the times of Scanderbeg. A small portion of bread, with a few salted sardinias, or black olives, afforded them an excellent repast. The very opposite of the Turks, whose sole happiness consisted in indolence; they were perpetually in action, expressing their joy at the approach of danger, and eagerly exposing themselves to the perils of the siege. Giving themselves credit for the most trifling success, they were very careful never to own a defeat. Were they compelled to retreat, they qualified it by saying that they were not conquerors; while the gaining a single head was magnified into a victory. Loaded with arms, and sleeping during the night upon their thick cloaks with uncovered heads, and legs protected by leathern buskins, they were satisfied with their lot, and considered themselves as perfectly happy in living thus in the midst of a camp. A natural consequence of this hardy life was, that in an army of six thousand men, scarce twenty invalids were to be found. Ali, a true Albanian, speaking no language except his vernacular tongue and Greek, placed all his happiness in commanding such soldiers, to whom he was indebted for his elevation.

The taking and occupation of Corfu by the Allies, at length obliged Ali to withdraw his troops from his continental possessions; but, as a reward for his services, he received the patent of Rumelie-Valisee, or Viceroy of Rumelia.

CHAPTER VI.

Ali returns into Epirus.—His artillery.—War against the Pacha of Delvino.—Ali's espionage.—Story of Phrosina.—Her death.—Fresh war with the Souliotes.—Defection of Botsaris.—Albanian prophecy.—Gallant determination of the Souliotes.—Death of Botsaris.—Ali blockades the Souliotes.—Escape of the French officers.—Are delivered up to the Turks.—Janis Ariviniotis.—Foto Giavella.—Disaffection of Ali's allies.—Good fortune of the Souliotes.—Ali's pretended negotiation.—Answer of the Souliotes.—Ali's proposals to Dimos Zervas.—His answer.—Revolt of Georgino.—Privations of the Souliotes.—Preparation for a general attack.—Emineh.—Ali's despair.—Death of Emineh.—Retribution.—Terrors of Conscience.—Hassan Aga.—Pronion of Paramithia.—Successes of Ali.—The caloyer Samuel.—His activity.—The arrival at Corfu of a French Corvette.—Privations of the Souliotes.—Ali's policy.—Souliotes declared rebels by the Porte.—Ali's violation of oaths.—Defection of Foto.—Capitulation between Foto and Vely Pacha.—Foto retires to Parga.—Determined resolution of the Souliotes.—Ali grants them a capitulation.—Self-devotion of Samuel.—Cruelties of Ali.—Martyrdom of three Christian children. The Souliotes quit Parga, and retire to Corfu.—Massacre of three hundred of the Souliotes.

UPON his return to Epirus, Ali did not forget the French officers, who were all, with the exception of Colonel Charbonnel, conducted to Joannina. The latter he employed in establish-

ing a military school at Bonila, where he had also a palace, gardens, &c. Ali gave him the command of his cannoneers, and, at his request, liberated the rest of the French prisoners from their confinement.

Naturally restless and active, Ali was continually travelling through the different parts of his territory, maintaining the people in their allegiance, or gaining new friends and adherents. Desirous of once more visiting the place of his birth, and of again traversing the fields which had witnessed his earliest exploits, he set out for Tepelini accompanied by M. Bessières, one of the Frenchmen resident at his Court.

Quitting Joannina for Upper Albania, the Vizier and his suite, after having proceeded along the southern bank of the lake, made their first halt at the monastery of Mount Tomarus. Thence they arrived at the valley of Argyro-Castron, which, in winding round to the west, extends as far as Vallona, the ancient Aulona. Ali passed the night at Argyro-Castron, formerly the chief town of a Pachaship with two tails, and distant from Joannina about ten leagues. This town, which had yielded to his arms after a long and obstinate resistance, was now governed by one of his creatures. The whole of the surrounding country is rich and fertile, but its inhabitants are uncivilized, and live in a continual state of warfare. Proceeding towards the north, Ali after-

wards passed through a mountainous and woody country, and at length, after surmounting lofty rocks and penetrating through obscure forests, approached Tepelini, his native town, surrounded on all sides by barren mountains, and forming as it were the mouth of a funnel. The plague, which had infested several of the cantons of Albania, had just broken out there, and Ali, who was by no means a decided fatalist, was careful not to enter the town. He, therefore, deferred till a more convenient opportunity his intended erection of a palace and seraglio; and by the route of Zagori, which is equally mountainous and woody, returned to Joannina, where his presence had become necessary to repress the encroachments of Mustapha Pacha of Delvino. This Pacha had calculated upon the protection of the Russians occupying Corfu, and also upon a diversion on the part of the Souliotes.

Ali's first care was to visit his new military school at Bonila: he declared his intention of being present while the bombs were thrown, and of putting the skill of his own bombardiers to the test, by comparing it with that of the French colonel, whom he had placed at the head of the establishment. The day of trial having arrived, the Vizier repaired to Bonila, accompanied by the two Pachas, his sons, and his whole court, and followed by Baloucks-Bachis, Agas, Albanian captains, and, in short, the whole garrison of

the capital. A small tent having been pitched for an object, the two first bombs were thrown by Colonel Charbonnel ; the first fell beyond the mark, the other on this side of it, but both in the line of direction. He was about to rectify for the third shot, when Ali ordered his own bombardiers to commence throwing : this they did, but not one of their bombs touched the mark, all fell out of the direction. After six had been thrown, the Vizier commanded them to desist, calling them fools and blockheads. He then desired the Colonel to recommence, who, having had sufficient time to load a mortar himself, and to furnish it with a fusee previously prepared, calculated the charge from the mean of the two former shots so exactly, that the bomb fell upon one of the camp poles, and, by exploding, blew the tent into the air. Shouts of admiration succeeded. The gallery of the seraglio of Bonila, which overlooked the battery, and in which were the Pachas and the court, resounded with acclamations. All (except Ali Pacha, who remained seated with his physician) rose, and came to the battery. Vely Pacha, by his father's order, took the Colonel by the hand, and introduced him to the Vizier, who congratulated him upon his success, and presented him with a pelisse. He at the same time granted him his whole confidence, as *Topdgi* and *Comparadgi*, or chief of the cannoneers and bombardiers. The next day, by

order of the Vizier, the Colonel received a complete Turkish dress. Entrusted with the instruction of several young Greeks and Turks who were destined for the artillery service, his duties gave him frequent access to the Vizier, a circumstance which was of material advantage to the French officers. War having been declared against Mustapha Pacha of Delvino, the Colonel received orders to prepare a small field and battering train, which was effected in the most expeditious manner. The Greek peasants having been put in requisition for dragging the mortars and cannon to the frontiers of Mustapha, performed this service under the direction of their *Papas*, who acted as captains in this singular militia.

The wars which occasionally happen among the Pachas are not to be compared in length and calamities with those which break out between sovereigns : the former being the exact counterpart of those which have distracted Greece in every age. When the Pachas or Agas have recourse to arms to decide their quarrels, a month, a week, and sometimes even a night, is sufficient to bring back the olive-branch of peace, or accomplish the flight and destruction of their adversaries. Their cattle are then driven off, sometimes a few feet of olive plantations are wrested from them, and all animosities are in a short time, by the nature of things, softened down and forgotten.

As soon as Ali's army entered the frontiers of the Pacha of Delvino, and the Albanians had made the mountains re-echo with their *brokovalos*, or war-songs, they commenced living at the enemy's expense. Mustapha, who acted upon the defensive, not caring to dispute the positions which covered the town, Ali advanced upon it almost without striking a blow. Delvino, enclosed within the dominions of Ali, is situated upon a height, and surrounded by very commanding military positions. It has a castle, the fortifications of which are of remote antiquity, but they cannot be of much advantage to a town so well defended by nature. Its population is about eight thousand inhabitants.

Ali did not think proper to take it by assault; perhaps he was anxious to try the effect of his artillery: bombs were therefore thrown into the town, and Mustapha Pacha was not long in submitting to the will of the Vizier of Joannina.

Having returned to his capital, he found order and peace re-established throughout every part of his territory: the *Kleftes* had disappeared; and the Beys, prostrate before his throne, no longer dared to interrupt tranquillity by their intestine wars. Ali had adopted as his maxim for government, the well-known principle of tyrants, that of reducing all to a systematic despotism and a vigilant police. His espionage penetrated into the very sanctuary of families. His own sons

even were subject to it. The tragical end of the beautiful Phrosina, condemned to death in the month of January 1801, for having indulged connexions of a tender nature with Mouctar, Ali's eldest son, has left among the Greeks a lasting impression of sorrow and regret.

Phrosina was the daughter of Greek parents. Nature had largely endowed her with the charms of personal beauty, and to these she added all the graces of an accomplished mind. As her family was opulent, she received the nuptial crown (¹) at an early age; but unfortunately for herself she had renounced that retired and secluded mode of life common to females throughout the Turkish Empire.

Mouctar was not long insensible to her charms; he became enamoured of the beautiful Greek, and resolved to effect her ruin. He seized the opportunity of urging his amorous suit while her husband, engaged in commercial pursuits, was absent at Venice. Ill-fated separation! Phrosina was at first alarmed at the love with which she had inspired Mouctar; he, however, only became more pressing, and Phrosina, forgetful of her duty, at length gratified her pride by holding a Pacha in her chains. Fearless of a rival, she assumed an influence over him which flattered her vanity; and Mouctar, every day more and more happy, was every day less disposed to dispute her sway.

The happiness of the lovers was, however, soon interrupted by Mouctar's being ordered to quell an insurrection in Rumelia. His absence was fatal ; for his wives being irritated by his neglect of them, and his preference for Phrosina, seized the opportunity of representing their wrongs to the Vizier. Tears were had recourse to ; and his cupidity was aroused by the intimation that their husband's riches were at Phrosina's disposal. This was sufficient to decide her fate.

Phrosina was aware of what was plotting against her : but to whom could she fly for help ? who would dare to speak in her behalf ? Tears, therefore, were her only solace ; hope her only consolation. Her state of suspense was not long : in the dead of the night, Ali, accompanied by his guards, repaired to her dwelling, and forced the doors of his defenceless victim. Phrosina, who recognized his voice, immediately collected all her jewels, laid them at his feet, and implored him, by his feelings as a father, by that son whom it was her crime to have loved too well, and but for whom she would have been an innocent wife, to have compassion on her. Her tears, her prayers, were unavailing with the stern and inexorable Ali. He ordered his Albanians to seize and conduct her to the seraglio.

To any other but the sanguinary Ali, one victim sacrificed to vindictive jealousy might have been sufficient ; but affecting to yield to the

scruples of some pretended moralists, he ordered fifteen ladies of the most respectable families to be seized, and at the head of these Phrosina appeared before the tribunal of the Satrap, to hear from his lips the sentence of death.

It was no sooner pronounced, than they were thrust into a dungeon: there, amidst the horrors of impending destruction, they passed three entire days in all the agonies of maddening despair. On the evening of the third, they were dragged from their prison, and precipitated into the lake. Phrosina expired with fear while on the road to execution. She was buried in the convent of the Anargres, where her tomb is still shewn, covered with flowers, and shaded by a wild olive tree.

Rumours of wars soon began to occupy the thoughts of Ali. Having still some views upon the French officers, his prisoners, he ordered them before him, and formally promised them their liberty; they were, however, to be liberated one after the other, for fear of incurring the displeasure of the Porte, who knew of their detention in Epirus. He at the same time made them many protestations of friendship, and, entering into some details upon European discipline, was warm in his eulogiums upon the bravery and glory of the French armies. The Russians were now the objects of his hatred; their vicinity at Corfu made him very uneasy. He knew that a very

intimate union was being established between Souli, Parga, and Corfu, which would enable the Russians to sow disaffection in his dominions, excite a spirit of revolt against his power, and furnish his enemies with arms and ammunition.

Resolved to strain every nerve to dissolve such dangerous connexions, the Vizier secretly hastened preparations for a new war against the Souliotes. The moment was favourable. His recent successes against the Christians had enlisted in his favour the passions of the Musulmans, and gained him the good opinion of the Turks in general. His first endeavour was to gain over to his interests some of their chiefs, and in this he succeeded with Georges Botsaris, who, to his eternal infamy, bartered his duty for 10,000 piastres. This man had acquired a distinguished reputation for valour, but, flattered by the praises of his countrymen, and dazzled more by the magnificent promises than the presents of the Vizier, he yielded to the hope of being made the supreme magistrate of his nation. One Palaskas, a captain in Ali's service, undertook to gain him over. Pretending to have deserted from Ali, he went to the old man, and in a short time succeeded in gaining his confidence. Having married Botsaris' daughter, he at length persuaded him to desert to Ali, with his family, relations, and dependents, and to give up to him all the arms and ammunition in his possession.

During these negotiations, and previously to his commencing hostilities, Ali assembled all his Agas at Ypsdron, and communicated to them a prophecy, made by one of their most famous Chodgias, importing "that they must conquer Souli, as the only means of resisting their sworn enemies, the French and Russians, into whose hands it was very likely the whole Ottoman empire would soon fall; but that they (the Albanians) would maintain themselves free and independent forty years after the decline of the empire, and would at length conclude an honourable and advantageous peace."

Upon hearing this the Agas swore fidelity to the Vizier, and promised not to lay down their arms till Souli had fallen. They immediately collected all their forces, which being united to Ali's, formed an army of twenty-eight thousand men.

For some time the Souliotes remained in the most perfect security, their fears being quieted by the traitor Botsaris, in whom they placed the utmost confidence. How great, then, must have been their consternation when they discovered his treachery, and saw themselves so cruelly deceived! They nevertheless determined upon a courageous defence, and immediately named twenty-five captains, the most distinguished of whom were Dimos Zervas, John Zervas, and Diamandis Zervas, all of the same family; Cou-

konicas, Dimos Draco, and Foto Giavella, the same who, when only twelve years of age, had been placed in Ali's hands as a hostage.

Scarcely had Botsaris and his troops rejoined the Vizier, than the latter wished to force him to fight against his country; and although the old man succeeded in obtaining personal exemption, he was compelled to let his followers form part of the expedition; they were, however, defeated, and he himself died broken-hearted a few months after.

Shortly afterwards Ali, having collected all his troops, marched against the Souliotes. These brave mountaineers had divided themselves into five bodies, and made so heroic and determined a resistance, that dismay soon spread itself among the Turkish army; this, joined to the diseases incident to the want of proper food, caused numerous desertions. Fresh recruits were, however, continually arriving, and Ali, who despaired of reducing the Souliotes by assault, resolved to change his system of attack into a rigorous blockade.

Having assembled his officers, he held a council of war. Convinced that they would refuse to make any farther attempts at storming, he brought to their recollection the fruitless attacks hitherto made, and proposed to them his present plan. It was resolved in consequence to erect batteries and redoubts at the entrance of the different defiles, and continually to besiege and

annoy the mountaineers, either by cannonading them, or throwing bombs among them, as much as the difficulties of the localities would permit. For this last service the Vizier relied upon his French prisoners at Joannina. We have already stated their advancement in his favour. For two years he had promised them their liberty; but nothing indicated the fulfilment of his promise. Their captivity was thus indefinitely prolonged, and their existence lingered away in sighs for their native country. As they were bound by no engagement nor verbal promise to remain, they concerted together the means of escaping by flight from a state of exile which every day became more and more insupportable. At the moment their project for escape became ripe for execution, Ali, solely occupied in his new plan of warfare against the Souliotes, ordered Colonel Charbonnel to organize a small park of artillery, the command of which was to be entrusted to him. This officer, who had already trained some cannoneers for the Pacha's service, was soon in a condition to fulfil the wishes of Ali, whose troops immediately began their march.

On the third day, the Turkish army pitched its tents before the principal defile of Souli, and commenced fortifying it. The French Colonel erected a battery, and after having remained there for a fortnight with his eyes directed to-

wards those lofty mountains on whose summits the "labouring clouds do often rest," and before whom Ali felt his weakness, he feigned a pretext for returning to Joannina. As his labours were now terminated, and as the reduction of the enemy could only be the work of time, he easily obtained the desired permission.

Having joined General Poitevin and M. Bessières at Joannina, they finally arranged their plan of escape: they were all fortunate in executing it, arriving at Corfu one after the other in perfect safety. Upon learning their flight, Ali, who had remained in the camp at Souli without having the least suspicion of what was taking place, feeling his vanity wounded and himself deprived of the knowledge and experience of three foreigners, who were of such utility to him, flew into the most dreadful paroxysm of fury, and swore that he would retake them. He despatched couriers to all parts, especially to the maritime frontiers of his Pachaship, promising munificent rewards to those who would bring back the prisoners, dead or alive. Convinced, at length, that all his vigilance was unavailing, he hanged the unfortunate muleteer who had assisted them in their flight. He also visited with his anger the other French prisoners who were at Joannina, and had them imprisoned; nor were they liberated till the intelligence arrived that

the three fugitives, whom he had demanded at Corfu, had been given up to the Turkish authorities, and were on the road to Constantinople.

In the mean time the Souliotes were not idle. Small detachments of thirty, forty, or fifty men, made continual sallies, and frequently succeeded in cutting off supplies from their besiegers. It is related that one Janis Ariviniotis, wrapping himself in his white capote, contrived to mingle unobserved with a herd of oxen belonging to the Turks; and having been shut up with them, he in the night unloosed and drove them towards Souli, while the Turks, fearful of an ambuscade, dared not to pursue him.

The skirmishes, which took place on these occasions, and which, notwithstanding numerical inferiority, always terminated in favour of the besieged, struck such terror into their enemies, that, on the appearance only of a body of Souliotes, the Albanians sought safety in flight.

About this time Foto Giavella and Dimos Draco made an incursion into the territories of Ali's Turkish allies, and returned laden with booty and covered with glory. Foto being informed that the Vizier had set a price of four hundred piastres upon the head of each Souliote, replied, that, for his part, he would only give ten cartridges for a Turk's head, for it was not worth more. To testify their contempt, the Souliotes one day ex-

changed a Turkish prisoner for an ass which had been taken from them.

In the Vizier's army there were great numbers of Greek Christians, who had taken up arms much against their inclination, and who, far from serving Ali, often favoured the enemy. It was also highly improbable that all the Agas could be sincerely devoted to him; for they were well aware that Souli once in his power, from being his subsidiaries, they would become his slaves. They consequently did not enter into his views *con amore*; but were most clamorous for their pay, when they knew Ali to be in want of money, and continually held out threats of withdrawing their troops: the Souliotes also found sincere friends in the Parghiotes, who furnished them by sea with the provisions of which they stood so much in need.

Under these circumstances the besieged succeeded, not only in breaking the confederacy formed by the Agas against them, but even in gaining over several to their interests. They concluded treaties of peace with Ibrahim Pacha of Velona, Mustapha Pacha of Delvino, Sulliam Aga, Pronion of Paramithia, Mahmout Aga, and Dailani of Conispoli, by virtue of which they received forty purses—about 20,000 piastres, for the purchase of provisions. Hostages were exchanged, and both parties agreed not to conclude a separate peace. The Souliotish hostages were given in charge to Mustapha of Delvino. The

increasing difficulties of his enterprise did not escape the Vizier's penetration; but he knew that to renounce it was to destroy his own influence and power. To prosecute it with vigour he was therefore prodigal of his resources, and laid his subjects, his friends, and even his sons, under contribution; every method was adopted to raise money, and according to authentic accounts, the conquest of Souli cost him no less than four millions of piastres.

Nor did he omit to affect at times a desire for peace. The negotiations were at one time so forward, that the Souliotes had already delivered over to him twenty-four hostages; but he suddenly broke off the communications; upon which they addressed the following letter to him:

“To Vizier Ali, greeting.—Thy mode of negotiation does but heap dishonour upon thy name, and confirm us in an obstinate and vigorous resistance. Forty-one Souliotes have recently been thy victims, seventeen of whom perished on the field, the rest remain the living witnesses of thy perfidy. No considerations will again induce us to listen to thee, for we know that thou art as faithless as thou art false.”

At another time Ali offered them two thousand purses, and the liberty of settling wherever they pleased, provided they evacuated Souli.—Their answer was as follows:

“Vizier.—Our country is dear to us, nor will we

exchange it either for thy gold, or the territories which thou offerest. Not for all the treasures of the earth will we barter the land of our forefathers, which we will defend with the last drop of our heart's blood."

Many of his letters, or those from his friends, were returned unread. Finding himself thus foiled, he endeavoured to sow dissension amongst them, and to corrupt some of them separately. Such was the offer he made to Dimos Zervas, to whom he promised eight hundred purses and honourable employments, if he and his followers would abandon their countrymen. To which proposal Zervas replied:

"Very honourable Vizier!—Trouble not thyself in sending me thy money. Although the sum be so large that I cannot count it, yet I would not give thee in return a single pebble of our mountain. Judge, then, if I would sell thee my country itself! As to the honourable employments thou promisest me, know that I am sufficiently ennobled by the arms with which I defend my native land."

Ali afterwards wished to prevail upon them to give up some districts to him, for a pecuniary equivalent; but they refused, saying, "We are not merchants; it is by force only that we acquire, and it is to force only that we will yield." He threatened to march against them with twenty thousand men. "We wish that thou mayest live and come," they replied.

The year 1802 had already commenced with sad auspices for the Souliotes, when Ali found his projects once more interrupted by the revolt of Georgino, Pacha of Adrianople. Ali was obliged to send to the Grand Vizier's army before that town a part of his troops, under the command of his son Mouctar, who had received from the Porte the title of a Pacha with two tails: this diversion was, however, little favourable to the Souliotes, as Ali still rigorously maintained the blockade. The object of Mouctar's expedition having been speedily accomplished, the Vizier immediately employed the forces brought back by his son in strengthening his line of occupation. The active operations he confided to Mouctar, enjoining him not to be precipitate in his attacks, but to gain ground by degrees, while he himself, sometimes present in the line of blockade, at others traversing the whole extent of his Pacha-ship, was alike observant of the army, and the administration of civil government; and shewed that this war, though so obstinate and stubborn, did not in the least abate his activity and vigilance.

He still at times continued to try the effect of artifice and negotiations among the Souliotes, who, being in a state of siege, and seeing no period to their privations and fatigues, had become divided and discontented with each other. Ali, who was the secret cause of these dissensions,

took advantage of them to seize their last position on the Acheron; by which loss they were now deprived of all water but that which came to them from Heaven: thus they found themselves reduced, during the droughts, to let fall from the summits of their rocks, sponges tied to a cord, and loaded with a ball of lead, by means of which they succeeded in procuring themselves a small quantity of water.

The Satrap, informed of the distresses of the Souliotes, sent his second son, Vely, to the army, in order still more to raise the courage of his troops. Preparations were now made in the Vizier's camp for a general and decisive attack. Already the approaching destruction of these valiant mountaineers was announced at court; but the intelligence excited universal pity. Commiseration for their fate found its way even into the seraglio of Ali, and a powerful voice was heard in their behalf. Emineh, the wife of Ali, and mother of Mouctar and Vely, touched with the heroism of the Souliotes, fell at the Vizier's feet to implore his clemency. "Oh, my lord! deign," said she, embracing his knees, "deign to listen to your most devoted slave; and be not insensible to her tears! The tutelar genius of your fortunes has warned me in a dream that you should spare the *Souliotes*." "The *Souliotes*," exclaimed the Vizier, in a voice of thunder, "the *Souliotes*! darest thou name my implacable ene-

mies, and not tremble for thyself?" "Recollect," said she, rising with dignified firmness, "recollect that I am the daughter of a Pacha; yes, I name them, and moreover dare to tell thee, that their blood, and the blood of my unhappy father, which thou sheddest, when I was yet a child, will be upon thy head." "And thine also," said the furious Ali, as he drew a pistol from his girdle and discharged it at the tender Emineh, who falling in a swoon was instantly carried by her slaves into the seraglio. Terror and dismay followed the report of the pistol. The whole harem was thrown into confusion, but nobody dared to ask who was the victim of the Satrap's fury. Meanwhile Ali had retired to his innermost apartments, where, a prey alternately to despair and remorse, he awaited intelligence of the event. At length his confidential physician, the infamous Tissoni, announced that his wife had not even been wounded, but had fainted from surprise and fright.

This information having in some degree calmed the delirium of his senses, he shed tears, and feeling all his tenderness for Emineh revive, went to her apartment; but admittance was refused him, and it was only by force that he entered the chamber. Alarmed at the noise, and dreadfully agitated at the sight of the tyrant, the tender Emineh felt a shock which soon proved fatal. She was seized with dreadful spasms, became

speechless, and expired during the night in a state of delirium. Such was the tragical end of the daughter of Capelan Pacha, 'wife of Ali Tepelini, and mother of Mouctar and Vely. Her eminent virtues merited a kinder fate. Deep and melancholy as might be the impression made by the above catastrophe on the heart of every Albanian, her murderer experienced sensations still more severe—they were retributive. For more than ten years afterwards, his crime was continually present to him. The mournful spectre of Emineh haunted him, at the festal board, in the council chamber, and even in his sleep. He dared not to be in a room by himself; he feared to put his arms out of bed; and frequently, in the middle of the night, his pages have heard him start up, and exclaim, *My wife, it is she! it is she! it is my wife! save me, save me from her fury!* He has even been seen to tremble, upon observing her likeness in the features of his sons and grandchildren: such was the punishment inflicted upon him even in this world by a just and avenging Deity.

Previously to a general attack, Ali made great exertions to break the alliances which the Agas and Beys had entered into with the Souliotes; some he succeeded in detaching by his brilliant promises, some he harassed by fomenting disturbances in their provinces; while others he attacked by

open force. Thus, with the assistance of Hassan Aga, he surprised and made himself master of Delvino : where he found the six hostages of the Souliotes, who, as before noticed, had been placed in the charge of Mustapha Pacha. Four of these unfortunates were immediately despatched, but he spared the brother of Giavella, and the son of Dimos Draco, pretending that he did so at the solicitations of Hassan Aga, who hoped by this means to ingratiate himself with the Souliotes. But they wrote to him as follows :

“ Hassan Aga, health and salutation ! Think not that we are indebted to you for the service which you boast to have rendered us. First, because your motives were not pure, it being only a stratagem of your master. Secondly, because you have only saved dead men for us, for such we account all those who are in the tyrant’s power. Thirdly, you are not our friend ; if you were, you would have remained faithful to the treaty which we concluded with your father, when you became our prisoners. But you are our neighbour, and woe be to you, should you again fall into our hands ! your perfidy will oblige us to treat you according to your deserts. Farewell.”

Pronion of Paramithia, a man full of courage and integrity, remained faithful to his engagements with the Souliotes.

Ali, having so far succeeded, immediately commenced active operations, and the besieged soon found themselves straitened; position after position being taken by Ali. It was thus that they lost Cako Souli, Avarikos, Samonida. But at this juncture, a man arose among them, who revived their drooping courage, and rekindled their expiring hopes.

This man was a Caloyer^(*) named Samuel; he was from the neighbourhood of Preyeza, and had assumed the sirname of *the Last Judgment*. By the lower orders he was looked upon as a prophet sent from God; while the better informed amongst the Greeks considered him as some foreign officer of distinction, disguised in the habit of a priest.

Samuel had all that enthusiasm which inspires the noblest actions, and raises its possessor above the greatest sacrifices. Gifted with a nervous eloquence, which he continually enforced by apt quotations from the Holy Scriptures, he soon acquired great influence, which extended even to the twenty-five elders who formed the constitutional assembly of the Souliotes. His activity was such, that he seemed to possess the power of ubiquity. At one time he was superintending the construction of towers and batteries; at another, directing the operation of the few pieces of cannon still possessed by the Moun-

taineers. One day he would set off for Parga, Paramithia, or even Preveza; and the next, he was found heading the most daring sorties.

However desperate the situation of Souli, its fall might yet have been delayed; for the allies of Ali, conscious that the ruin of that brave people was intimately connected with their own, became every day less and less disposed to second his designs. But the French, unintentionally, hastened their destruction. In the spring of the year 1803, the period when a rupture between France and the Porte was apprehended, the corvette *l'Arabe*, which was afterwards captured by the English, arrived in the Archipelago, and in the Ionian and Ægean seas. She left powder and ammunition in the port of Maura, and even at Athens and Zante, in payment for provisions which she took on board. From this latter place, many boats filled with provisions of all sorts were despatched to Parga upon speculation.

At this time, the Souliotes found themselves extremely reduced; their salt meat began to spoil, their corn and meal was nearly exhausted, and for several months they had lived upon the bread made of the bark of trees, mixed with herbs and a little meal. Their mills having been seized by their enemies, they were obliged to grind their corn with large stones, which ren-

dered it extremely gritty and disagreeable. This last resource, however, having failed them, upon the arrival of the boats abovementioned, four hundred and thirteen men, and one hundred and seventy-four women, marched for Parga; there they remained four days. On the fifth, having loaded their women with the provisions, as well as the ammunition, arrived from Zante, they retook the road to Souli. During their march they were harassed by a numerous body of Turks, who did not, however, dare to make a general attack.

Ali was too great a politician not to turn this circumstance to his own advantage. Hitherto the Porte had been rather favourably inclined towards the Souliotes, as it had more than once ordered Ali to cease hostilities against them, for, as they punctually remitted their tribute, they could not be regarded as rebels at Constantinople. Another motive, also, might be, the fear which the Porte entertained of the aggrandizement of a Vizier whose ability was only equalled by his ambition. No sooner, however, did the French appear interested in favour of the Souliotes, than the Grand Seignior despatched a firman to Ali, empowering him to attack them with all his forces. All the neighbouring Pachas were also commanded to join his standard, under pain of being considered and treated as rebels.

By order of Ali, the Metropolitan of Arta, Ignatius, proceeded to the Pacha of Paramithia, and commanded him not to assist Souli. But his mission was unsuccessful. Another Caloyer having been sent under their walls to exhort the Paramithians to capitulate, he was commanded to retire, or otherwise he would be shot as "*a corrupter of youth!*"

Jerotheos, the bishop of Joannina, also wrote to them, as well as to Chrysanthos, Bishop of Paramithia, whose disobedience drew upon him Ali's particular hatred. As Ali himself made no scruple of violating the most sacred oaths, he hesitated not to require the archbishops to act in the same manner. Although he publicly paid them great respect, thinking that their influence was of considerable advantage to him, yet his real opinion of them was very slight. Thus speaking one day to the Metropolitan of Arta, upon the subject of a letter which that priest was to write to the Souliotes, and in which he was to make them a promise which Ali had predetermined never to keep, he said,—*Come, Sir, write, and do not be sparing of oaths.*

In the mean time Kukonikas and Diamandis Zervas, two captains of the Souliotes, had been gained over by the Vizier, to whom they deserted, not without making several attempts to

vanquish the stubborn patriotism of their own honourable countrymen.

Even Foto Giavella himself, who was in command at Kiaffa and Kuinti, and upon whom rested the every hope of his nation, was persuaded to send his wife and children to the Vizier, and he himself shortly afterwards capitulated with Vely Pacha. The passport forwarded to him by Vely upon this occasion was as follows :

“ I Vely Pacha, and all under my orders, attest
“ upon oath, that I have granted to Foto and the
“ Souliotes his followers, at present blockaded in
“ Kuinti, the permission of free egress, without
“ molestation whatsoever, either during their
“ retreat, or in the place of their future settle-
“ ment. This indemnification shall extend to
“ their lives, property, and reputation. When
“ the conferences we have agreed upon are ter-
“ minated, .and they have evacuated Kuinti,
“ Balos is authorized to deliver up to them the
“ hostages which are in his charge. Once more,
“ we engage faithfully to fulfil the above stipu-
“ lation,—and in case of failure, we consent to
“ be for ever excluded from the Mahometan
“ religion, and to live in *dullacki* (divorce) with
“ our wives ; and for the farther security of the
“ Souliotes, we solemnly swear the present oath ;

“ which if we break, may we be abandoned by
 “ God and man !

“ Given before Souli, 12th Dec. 1803.

“ VELY PACHA

(HIS SEAL) (3)

“ ELMIS-BEY

ISMAÏL CHODGA-BEY

(H. S.)

(H. S.)

“ MUHAMMED MUCHARDARIS

PASSI-BEY, SON

(H. S.)

OF ISMAÏL BEY

(H. S.)

“ DERSVICH-HASSAN

CYRDIN SARGIANIS

(H. S.)

(H. S.)

“ OMER DERSVICH

MEZZOBONO

(H. S.)

(H. S.)

“ HADGI PAETER

LATIF CHODGA

(H. S.)

(H. S.)

“ HUSSANET TOTZKAS

APA DEPELLENIS.”

(H. S.)

(H. S.)

For this act of treachery, Foto and his followers received large sums of money from Ali. The father had committed an imprudence, for which he had expiated by a generous death. His defection might, indeed, have caused the destruction of the Souliotes, but Providence decreed otherwise, and they had come out triumphant from one of the most unequal struggles of which history can furnish any example. But the treachery of the son had more decisive conse-

quences, and for ever ruined the cause of the Souliotes. On the 13th December, 1803, accompanied by his dear Chaïdo, he began his march, with several hundred followers. Parga was their first destination, and here they remained for some days.

The little band of the Souliotes, who still remained faithful to their country, headed by the brave Caloyer, defended their last positions with an intrepidity beyond all praise. Dimos Zervas and the old Dimos Draco fought with lion-like courage, till, being entirely destitute of provisions, they were forced to capitulate. Even then, they were sufficiently formidable to demand an unmolested retreat. Ali purchased the ammunition still remaining at Souli; but would not pay them for it in specie.

The Vizier nominated three Turks as commissaries to receive the ammunition stores. Hostages for the payment had already been exchanged, and the principal magazine, containing about three hundred and seventy-five okkes (*) of powder, given up. There only remained a small store of about twenty-five okkes, which was kept in the retired dwelling of the Caloyer. As the commissaries insisted upon having this also, after some difficulty, the Caloyer consented, and, accompanied by three Souliotes, conducted the commissaries to his house. One of the Souliotes was stationed at the door as a sentinel. His

attention was soon engaged by a dispute which apparently arose between the Caloyer and the Turks; and, as he was listening to it, a most dreadful explosion took place, which struck him senseless to the earth. It is conjectured that the Caloyer had fired his pistol into the powder, and had thus blown himself, his company, and the commissaries into atoms. The man stationed as sentry had his legs burnt to the bone in several places, his feet and hands paralysed, and his eyesight nearly destroyed.

Ali having thus made himself master of Souli, and persuaded that this place might be regarded as impregnable, had at first the intention of fortifying it for himself; and inspected it, accompanied by his engineers: the position was, however, found to be less strong than was imagined, and he therefore abandoned his intention. It was the courage and patriotism of these mountaineers, rather than the natural defences of Souli, which had rendered that place so long unpugnable.

Having no longer any thing to apprehend from the Souliotes, the Vizier gave a loose to that fury which he had till then repressed, and resolved, if possible, to exterminate them utterly. These brave but unfortunate mountaineers, trusting to the capitulation, had retired to different places, but fortunately the greater number settled at Parga; for all the others were seized and

massacred with the greatest barbarity, and perished by unheard-of torments. Many had gunpowder stuffed into their ears and nostrils, which was afterwards ignited. About a hundred of these unfortunates, who had settled near the Convent of Sallonga, to the north of Preveza, were attacked, under the pretence that the position was too strong, and might afford them a fresh rallying point. A horrible massacre was made of them: thirty-nine women threw themselves headlong from the rocks, with their children, many of whom were sucking at the breast. A widow and her two marriageable daughters barricaded themselves in a house, and being resolved to suffer death rather than dishonour, they endeavoured to blow themselves up with gunpowder. It was not till after several days that they expired amid the greatest sufferings.

In order to superintend the massacre of his prisoners, Ali had arrived expressly from Joannina. For eight entire days the executions continued; and by the light of the conflagrations which reduced the villages of the Selleide to ashes, nothing was seen but racks, gibbets, executioners, and victims. The women were hurled down the rocks into the Acheron; the children were put up to auction; and, as the *tenth part of the property belonging to the condemned* was the perquisite of the executioners, that office was in great request. After these first excesses of cruelty, the

Vizier, fatigued but not satiated with carnage, retook the road to Joannina, dragging in his train the remains of the wretched Souliote population to adorn his triumph. Their torments, during the rejoicings which took place on that occasion, were as various as the caprices of the brutal soldiery, whose prey they had become; but in all their sufferings not one would purchase life by apostatizing his religion. A noble enthusiasm, the result of their dependence on the Divine Being, supported them amid the most excruciating tortures. Many impaled alive lingered for several days, and then expired. One young man, the skin of whose head had been completely stripped off, was forced, by dint of blows, to run to and fro under the Pacha's windows, who, calmly smoking his hookar, seemed to enjoy the sight of his agonies. Joannina was, in fact, converted into a circus resounding with the ferocious exclamation of the victors, and the agonizing shrieks and groans of their victims.

But the most afflicting spectacle was yet to come. The martyrdom of three young Christian children. The eldest, a beautiful young girl fourteen years of age, and her sister about eleven, walked hand in hand, conducting a little brother younger than either. Innocence shone upon their fair and polished foreheads, and the serenity of their countenances was the more conspicuous when contrasted with the frantic gesticulation of

the Dervises surrounding them. Having arrived at the fatal plantain grove of Calo-Tchesmé, the usual place of execution, the youngest girl fell on her knees, and while raising her supplicating hands in prayer, a faint cry announced the death of her little brother, whose head rolled bleeding at her feet; and from this sad spectacle she was aroused by her sister's shrieks, whom she saw struggling against an enormous bear let loose against her. Scarcely could she invoke the mercy of her God, than the executioner severed her head from her body, and

That whiter skin of her's than snow,
And smooth as monumental alabaster,

was crimsoned with her pure and innocent blood. These horrible atrocities struck fear even into those Souliotes who had retired to Parga. Not thinking themselves safe from the tyrant's fury, about seventeen hundred of them retired to Corfu, where they were received with the greatest humanity. The government allowed them to settle at Levkimo, afforded them every assistance, and a special officer was appointed to administer to all their wants.

The inhabitants of Corfu promised themselves much advantage from this emigration, as it took place at the precise time of the olive-harvest, and when they were in particular want of labourers. But so long as a Souliote possesses a single pa-

rah he will never work ; and but very few consequently would lend their assistance. Their turbulent spirit having given rise to some disturbances, it was judged expedient to disarm them. A quarrel soon after broke out between Foto Giavella and Dimos Dracas ; the latter insisting upon his right to a part of the bribe the former had received for evacuating Kiaffa and Kuinti. This altercation divided the Souliotes into two distinct parties.

Shortly afterwards, Ali required Count Mocenigo and the Government of the Seven Isles to deliver up the Souliotes to him, and appeared himself at the head of his army before Parga and Preveza, in order to enforce acquiescence by the terror of his arms. But the judicious measures adopted, and the firmness with which he was opposed, soon forced him to retrace the road to Joannina. The three hundred Souliotes who had joined the Vizier, commanded by old Botsaris, were still in his service, under the orders of his son Mouctar. As Ali had only spared them with the view of encouraging and attracting other deserters ; and as their services were now no longer wanted, he resolved to get rid of them. As, however, his intentions had by some means transpired, the Souliotes fled towards Thessaly ; but they were overtaken near the bridge of Korak, and surrounded by several thousand Turks. Determined to sell their lives dearly, they fired but one volley ;

then, sabre in hand, fell upon the enemy, of whom they made a prodigious slaughter. Not one Souliote escaped ; but the Turks even to this day attest their heroic and determined valour.

Such was the end of Souli. Had its inhabitants been united, it would have been impregnable ; but the Albanians are as little capable as the Greeks of resisting the temptation of gold ; and Ali well understood how to employ it, according to place, time, and persons.

CHAPTER VII.

Ali's great celebrity.—Raises a large army.—Appears before Philippopolis.—Snare laid for Ali.—His escape.—Ali deprived of the government of Thessaly.—Ali's views upon Corfu and Santa Maura.—The Russians oppose him.—Rupture with Russia.—An English agent at Joannina.—Bonaparte.—Sketch of Ali's character.—His territory and resources.—Ali's policy.—Commerce between Joannina and France.—Appointment of a French Consul-general.—M. Pouqueville.—Description of his journey.—Audience with Ali.—Description of Ali.—Dr. Holland's interview with Ali.—Ali's apartments.—His dress and personal appearance.—Mr. Richards.—Ali's secretary of state.—Interview with Ali.—Portrait of Ali.—Favourable reception.—Particulars respecting Ali.—His treasures.—Administration, &c.—M. Pouqueville's journey continued.—Receives his diploma.—His intention of travelling through Epirus.

THE destruction of the Souliotes, who for two years and a half had triumphed, if not over the Ottomans themselves, at least over their most determined efforts, considerably increased the celebrity of Ali Pacha. His exploits resounded from one extremity of Epirus to the other, and the fame of them at length reached the

Sultan Selim. This prince, whether from a wish to recompense him, or from having occasion for his aid against the hordes of brigands who were desolating Macedonia and Thrace, again conferred upon him the patent of Rumelie-Valisee, at the same time investing him with all the authority belonging to that important office. Under the appellation of *Kersales*, the brigands, headed by their bold and daring chiefs, devastated the environs of Philippopolis and the valleys of Mount Pengeus; they even pushed their excursions as far as Pelagonia. The couriers were stopped and rifled in every direction; even the progress of the caravans was interrupted, and a serious inconvenience consequently inflicted upon commerce. To restore security, and to establish a vigorous police in these desolated countries, was the task imposed by the Divan upon the conqueror of Nicopolis and Souli. Scarcely had the Vizier received the imperial diploma, when he collected ten thousand Albanian soldiers, at the head of whom, passing Mount Pindus in the spring of 1804, he encamped at Monastir, a large town situated about a day's march west of the lake of Ochrida. Having first cleared the adjacent country of several bands of robbers, Ali afterwards summoned to his assistance the forces of the Aians of Illyria and Macedonia, and at length crossed the Vardar at Tchiuperli.

In addition to his Albanians, Ali ranged under

his standard the contingents of the Pacha of Delvino, of the Vizier of Berat, of the Vaivodiliks of the Taulantia, of the Sangiachs of Scodra, of the Chiefs of the Dribes, of Ochrida and the Lake Koulac, and lastly, of the Spais of Thessaly. In a short time the cavalry of the Serres, the Agas of Thessalonica, the Timariots, and the whole forces of Sophia, arrived in his camp. He appeared at the gates of Philippopolis at the head of an army exceeding eighty thousand men. Two-thirds of the Pachas of European Turkey were under his command. Throughout his whole progress he scoured the country, levied contributions, and spread abroad the terror of his name. After having encamped before the town, he cited the rebel chiefs already taken before his dreaded tribunal. Several were condemned to lose their heads, the rest were retained as hostages. His march, not less astonishing than his activity in collecting so vast an army, gave rise to the opinion that he meditated striking a fatal blow against the empire. It was, however, erroneous; his only ambition was to found an immense vassalage, the inheritance of which might be transmitted by him to his children. Besides, how could he expect to preserve for any time the union of such a vast body of men, differing so widely both in country and language, influenced by long-standing jealousies, and speaking the Turkish, Sclavonian, Valaque, and Bulgarian

tongues? An army so composed could not fail to be broken up upon the least misunderstanding or dissension.

Obscure hints and dark rumours had already produced a considerable fermentation in it: seditious expressions began to be common throughout the camp; and the name of Selim was no longer mentioned but with contempt. The intention even of raising a new standard was avowed; when suddenly an insurrectionary movement manifested itself. It was thought to have been organized by the Divan itself, for the purpose of entrapping Ali (whose intentions were suspected) into a rebellion which would have insured his destruction. He avoided the snare. They had already seized their arms, and were proceeding to his head-quarters, when, suddenly appearing before the mutineers, surrounded by his faithful Albanians, he exclaimed, "If it be a dislike to inaction which induces you to take up arms, I applaud your conduct; strike the tents, and let every one follow me to the general rendezvous at Sophia." Thus saying, he began his march, persuaded that this would be the signal for the withdrawing of the most mutinous corps: his conclusion was just, for the majority seized this opportunity of returning home, while he retook the road to Monastir. The fears, however, of the Divan did not wholly cease till he had repassed the Vardar. Ali himself did not feel

secure till he approached Epirus, and had entered a friendly country; without, however, betraying either suspicion or alarm, he demanded from the Divan a *carte blanche*, in case he should be required to renew the campaign. He was informed that the Sultan was satisfied with his conduct, without, however, confirming him in the powers with which he had been invested.

The post of Rumelie-Valisee is generally considered as a very unprofitable one; but Ali, accustomed to turn every thing to advantage, did not neglect his own interest; he drained the provinces by his oppressive taxes, ransomed those whom it was his duty to punish, dismantled all the fortifications, and returned to Joannina, laden with the spoils of Rumelia. From policy, no less than from avarice, he left an exhausted country to his successor, whose embarrassments he soon afterwards increased, by liberating the chiefs of the *Kleftes* whom he had carried with him as hostages.

The Porte did not view the conduct of the Satrap of Joannina with indifference; there was but one cry against his depredations, and the public voice was seconded by the just complaints of the Russians, who at that time were masters of the Ionian Isles. They remonstrated against the daily outrages committed by their turbulent neighbour upon the islanders, and demanded that Butrinto should be ceded to the Vaivode,

appointed by the treaties to govern Vonitza, Preveza, and Parga. Anxious to keep upon good terms with Russia, the Porte partly complied with this request. Ali was deprived of the government of Thessaly, which was conferred upon his nephew, Elmas Bey, son of Chaïnitza and Soliman; it was, however, agreed that this Sangiacat should be restored to Ali whenever he thought fit to give up Butrinto. The whole, however, was a state trick; for Elmas Pacha having died soon after he had received the investiture of Tricala, this Pachaship reverted to Ali, without, however, his being required to give up the territory, which formed the bone of contention between him and Russia.

Before obtaining so firm a footing in Albania, it had been Ali's policy to cultivate, as much as possible, a good understanding with the Russians; but no sooner had he established himself, than his former friends became the objects of his jealousy and hatred, and the whole of his policy was employed to dispossess them of the Seven Islands. The treaty of the 20th March afforded him some hopes, as by one of its clauses the Ionian Republic was declared to be placed under the joint protection of Russia and Turkey. In consequence of this the Russian forces soon afterwards retired. It was now that the idea suggested itself to Ali, of gaining possession of Corfu and Santa Maura. For the more secure

attainment of his object, he, by secret agents, fomented disturbances in the islands, and then represented to the Porte, that, in order to restore tranquillity, he must be allowed to garrison Corfu, Parga, and Santa Maura.

Notwithstanding the remonstrances of the Ionian senate, Ali was about to obtain the wished-for order, when his plans were completely frustrated by the Russians, who prevailed upon the senate to claim their protection. The troops of the Autocrat soon after arrived and took possession of the islands. Ali's former hatred of the Muscovites was not a little increased by this measure: anxious to counterbalance their influence, his great object was now to form another alliance; and a British squadron being at this time in the Ionian seas, he thought that a favourable opportunity presented itself of forwarding his own plans. A communication was therefore opened with the English admiral, and an English agent was despatched to Joannina to confer with Ali.

Much as Bonaparte was, at this period, engaged with European affairs, yet he could not overlook the political relations which Ali had just entered into; being, moreover, desirous of knowing *à fond* his *prototype*, he caused an exact report to be made to him of the person and character of Ali, his political situation, and the means which he possessed of acting either on the

offensive or defensive. The data were not difficult to be obtained, since two French officers had had a very near view of the Pacha, his court, his capital, and his dominions. The substance of the reports presented to Bonaparte was as follows :

“Ali is from fifty to fifty-five years old, but does not exhibit any traces of a premature old age. His manly and open face is marked with decided features, which strongly express the passions which agitate him. Having the most perfect command over his physiognomy, his glance is seductive, and his well-practised smile indicates a sentiment the very reverse of that by which he is affected ; but when inflicting punishment he is unable to controul his anger, which manifests itself by a terrible convulsion of his features, indicative of the violence of his character. He is brave to an extreme : his arms and breast are covered with honourable scars. Steady in his plans, if ever he finds himself compelled by circumstances to deviate from the line he has traced out, he returns to it again and again, and never loses sight of his object till it be attained. Extremely attentive to the convulsions which agitate, and the disasters which shake, the Turkish empire, he with the utmost dexterity avails himself of the weakness of the government to extend his frontiers, and to occupy advanced posts. Strong in the self-devotion of his creatures, and

in the powerful friends whom he subsidizes even in the Divan, the Porte itself, aware of his resources, finds it expedient to conciliate his friendship. While aiming at actual independence, he never fails in the payment of tribute, certain that with money the favour of the Ottoman is always secure. He is fond of repeating that he is the modern Pyrrhus (Bourrhous, as he pronounces it). In fact, if the generosity and elevation of character, so prominent in Pyrrhus, be wanting, Ali at least possesses all his activity, restlessness, discernment, and rapid *coup-d'œil* both in the cabinet and in the field; but his policy has far greater stability. Ali is never lulled into a false security. Superior in knowledge and experience to the other Pachas, he is continually awake to what is passing in Europe : the newspapers are translated to him, and it is rarely that a foreigner passes through his dominions without being introduced to Ali, who never fails to glean from him some information : the various political events which affect the amicable relations of sovereigns are also the frequent subjects of deep reflection and acute investigation.

“ His territory comprehends Epirus, Acarnania, a part of Etolia, Thessaly, and some cantons of Macedonia. This Pachaship, which includes so many others, is in fact subjected to his sole authority, the other Pachaships being mere empty titles : Ali's dominions therefore should, strictly

speaking, be considered as a true sovereignty. Little satisfied with an ephemeral empire, to prevent his Pachaship from becoming the prey of strangers at his death, Ali carries his views even into futurity, and has already obtained from the Porte the title of Pacha for his two sons.

“ His revenues consist of timars, numerous flocks and herds, and taxes, which are raised with less circumstances of severity and vexation than in any other part of the Turkish dominions. If an approximate calculation be made of his revenues, and the profits which he derives from the sale of wood and wool (for he is one of the first merchants, and the chief monopolist in the country) be added, the sum total of his revenues may amount to about 480,000*l.* sterling. With this sum he defrays the expenses of his household, remits his annual tribute to the Porte, and pays his soldiers: the number of whom is in general from eight to ten thousand Albanians; but he is frequently obliged to increase his army, and consequently his expenses. The whole of his military establishment is in a very high state of improvement.

“ In the acquirement of friends, or the destruction of enemies, Ali unites the arts of political craft to the other powerful means already in his possession. Far from annoying the Agas, by repressing their extortions, he permits them to continue their peculations with impunity. Hence,

therefore, it is that the greater part entertain for him all the devotion of fanaticism.

“ In later times, the French Revolution nearly always formed the chief topic of his conversations; not, as some have asserted, with the intention of receiving from it instructions how to secure his own independence, but merely as affording an opportunity of conversing upon the French armies, of whose exploits he was a great admirer. He often questioned the French officers his prisoners, and asked them the cause of so many triumphs, attributed by himself to a species of magical influence, by which victory was ever propitious to the Gallic banners. Notwithstanding the misfortunes and consequences inseparable from war, Ali may truly be affirmed to have been well-disposed and friendly towards the French.”

This report, although a little heightened in colouring, is for the most part conformable to the opinions formed of Ali Pacha by the majority of Frenchmen who had visited Epirus in the course of the war. It also contained reflections upon the importance of the ancient commercial relations between France and Albania. Before the Revolution, France had imported timber from that country, which, far superior to that brought from the Baltic, had been employed in the dock-yards at Toulon with particular success: the finest French frigates having been constructed of it. But ten years of war had interrupted all this

commercial intercourse. The French interest, being now more widely extended, required a more solid basis. During the reign of Louis XIV. that monarch had established at Joannina a consul-general, for the purpose of promoting commercial relations with the Albanians. By reviving this establishment great advantages, both civil and political, might be expected ; for the town of Joannina had become not only one of the most active in all Greece, but was also the seat of the modern power of Ali Pacha. For these different reasons it was better calculated for the residence of a French consul-general than either Arta or Preveza. Every thing proved that Ali considered this distinction as a particular mark of the esteem of the French Emperor, for whom he had ever testified the highest regard ; and that, if some trifling disputes still existed between Ali and France, they would soon be accommodated, by regulating and settling the old outstanding accounts for stores, &c. furnished by Ali to the French army during its occupation of Corfu. Besides, by the establishment of an agent in his capital, France would be the better able to cope with her rivals the English ; who, being masters of some important positions in the Mediterranean, were now also directing their views towards Epirus, for the purpose of obtaining ship-timber, and also of injuring as much as possible the French marine in the South. In short, by forming an

intimate connexion with Ali Pacha, the French would become the better acquainted with the localities, and by that means be enabled to discover resources, which might be of infinite advantage to the government at home.

Bonaparte was the more desirous of adopting this course, as he hoped by this means to separate Ali Pacha from all connexion with the English; knowing besides that he detested the Russians, against whom he himself was on the point of marching. He nominated, as consul-general at Joannina, M. Pouqueville, a learned and intelligent traveller, who had already explored Greece, and whose excellent character as a man could not but give additional weight to his public function. The consul-general sailed from the port of Ancona in the month of November 1805, with M. Julian Bessières, commissioned by the Government to introduce him to the Pacha, with whom M. Bessières had already had frequent personal communication. On his arrival at Ragusa, he despatched a Tartar (a mounted courier) to the Vizier, informing him of his arrival on the Turkish frontier. About the end of January the two envoys arrived in Epirus with a Valaque, who had been sent by Ali to act as their interpreter. On their entering the port of Panormo, they were recognized by the Pacha's garrison, and saluted with volleys of musquetry. An officer from the Vizier was in waiting to compliment

them on their arrival, in the name of his master. They took the road to Delvino. War had broken out between the Vizier and the Beys of that town, which the two envoys found in possession of Ali's troops. The bazaar, or public market, was in flames: it had been set on fire by Ali's soldiers, in order to destroy the shops after they had been pillaged. The tumult resounded from afar, while the flames strongly illuminated that part of the town which remained untouched. The French were received in the house of a Bey, one of Ali's adherents. The next day they took the road to Joannina, through the districts of Drynopolis and Pagoniani; and after a two-days' march, they met the Vizier at the seraglio of Dzida, who gave them their first audience. We shall here continue the narration in M. Pouqueville's own words.

“After the usual compliments, the private dragoman of the Vizier was called, in order to commence the conversation, which the Pacha began by asking questions with a volubility very uncommon among the Turks. Through the shade (for the hall of audience was only illuminated by the flitting and uncertain light of a yellow bougie) I perceived the coruscations of his penetrating eyes, and observed the convulsive motions of his features; I listened to his conversation, apparently vague and unconnected, yet full of cunning and duplicity. Swinging himself about, continually laughing and talking, not a word escaped him but

had its import, notwithstanding the rapidity of his utterance: he at times threw scrutinizing glances on me, and at length ordered his Greek secretary, and his minister, who was dressed in black and wore a long white beard, to retire. We remained with the interpreter, who continued to stammer out the questions and answers; till, after a conversation of about two hours, we withdrew, leaving the Vizier struggling between hopes and fears. This interview sufficed to dissipate some of the illusions which I had been under: Ali Pacha was neither a new Theseus, nor the modern Pyrrhus of Epirus. I was disgusted with his manners, and secretly deplored my fate in being compelled to reside near, and be in communication with, a man of such a character."

After this interview the two envoys retired to the Monastery of the Prophet Elias, which had been assigned them as a residence; and were received by the Greek Monks with the utmost hospitality and kindness. The next day the Pacha invited them to a second conference: he had risen before daylight, expecting them. The two envoys proceeded towards the seraglio. Two heads, recently severed from their bodies, were stuck upon stakes, and planted in the middle of the court-yard, without appearing to excite the least attention. Crowds of suppliants and courtiers, wholly unaffected by this horrid spectacle, were pressing towards the different stair cases in

order to arrive in the presence. “Cahouas, a species of ushers carrying long wands,” adds M. Pouqueville, “made the crowd fall back in order to facilitate our approach; and for the second time I saw Ali Pacha. He was near his sixtieth year; and his figure, which is not above five feet nine inches high, was rendered still more ungraceful by an excessive corpulency. His features, loaded with wrinkles, were not, however, entirely destroyed; their easy play, and the brilliancy of his small blue eyes, imparted to the beholder a dreadful impression of cunning joined with ferocity. Amidst the convulsions of a guttural laugh, many things which he said were somewhat tinctured with grace and elegance. Eagerly receiving the presents brought him by M. Bessières, he became quite amiable, and launched out into a number of common-place protestations of friendship. He called us his children, his brothers, his kind friends; and, as if he had seen me for the first time, condescended to promise me his favour and protection in the exercise of the consular office to which I was appointed; and at length it was decided that we should set off the next afternoon for Joannina.

“After this interview, the Vizier, who had ordered a grand hunt, mounted his steed, and the next moment numbers of Albanian horsemen were seen tracking the game on all sides, and driving it towards their master.”

It will not, perhaps, be considered uninteresting to the reader, after having had Ali's person and manners described to him by a French writer, to compare his account with those of two enlightened and intelligent Englishmen, Dr. Holland, and Mr. Theophilus Richards. The former of these gentlemen, in his interesting "Travels in the Ionian Isles," &c., thus relates his first interview with this celebrated character :

" Passing through the almost savage pomp of this outer area of the seraglio, we entered an inner court, and dismounted at the foot of a dark stone staircase. On the first landing-place stood one of the Vizier's carriages ; an old and awkward vehicle, of German manufacture, and such as might have been supposed to have travelled a dozen times from Hamburgh to Trieste. At the top of the staircase, we entered a wide gallery or hall, the windows of which command a noble view of the lake of Joannina and the mountains of Pindus : the walls are painted, and numerous doors conduct to it from different parts of the palace. This hall, like the area below, was filled with a multitude of people ; and the living scenery became yet more various and interesting as we proceeded. We now saw, besides Turkish, Albanian, and Moorish soldiers, the Turkish officers and ministers of the Vizier ; Greek and Jewish secretaries ; Greek merchants ; Tartar couriers ; the pages and black slaves of the se-

raglio; petitioners seeking to obtain audience, and numerous other figures which give to the court and palace of Ali Pacha a character all its own. A passage from this outer hall conducted us into a long and lofty apartment, the walls of which were beautifully painted, and all the decorations rich and superb. Here we were met by several pages and attendants of the Vizier, who led us to the door of his room of audience, accompanied by Signor Colovo, who had joined us at the gate of the seraglio, and now attended as our interpreter. A curtain was thrown aside, and we entered the apartment of Ali Pacha. The first *coup-d'œil* was imposing. It was a large and lofty saloon, from which an area was separated at the lower end by four richly ornamented pillars; a low range of windows at the upper extremity affording the same magnificent view as that from the outer hall. The interior decorations of the apartment exhibited much gaudy profusion. Pilasters at equal distances, and richly ornamented, but without any regular order of architecture, gave variety to the walls of the apartment. On these pilasters, and in niches intermediate to them, were hung the arms of the Vizier—sabres, daggers, and pistols, all of the finest workmanship, and profusely adorned with gold and jewels. A Turkey carpet covered the floor, and divans entirely surrounded the room, except at its lower end. A large fire of wood was blazing on a

hearth, above which a projecting chimney-piece, or rather chimney, rose in the form of a conical canopy, richly ornamented with gilding, &c.

“ These minute observations, however, were not made at the time of our entrance into the apartment. All our attention was at this moment occupied by the person of Ali Pacha himself, whose figure formed the most interesting part of the picture. He was sitting in the Turkish manner, with his legs crossed under him, on a couch immediately beyond the fire, somewhat more elevated than the rest, and richer in its decorations. On his head he wore a high round cap, of the deepest mazarine blue colour, and bordered with gold lace. His exterior robe was of yellow cloth, likewise richly embroidered; two inner garments, striped of various colours, flowed down loosely from the neck to the feet, and were confined only about the waist by an embroidered belt, in which were fixed a pistol and a dagger of beautiful and delicate workmanship. The hilts of these arms were covered with diamonds and pearls, and emeralds of great size and beauty set in the heads of each. On his fingers, the Vizier wore many large diamond rings; and the mouth-piece of the howkar, out of which he was smoking, was equally decorated with various kinds of jewellery.

“ Yet more than his dress, however, the countenance of Ali Pacha at this time engaged our

earnest attention. It is difficult to describe features either in their detail or general effect, so as to convey any distinct impression on the mind of the reader. Were I to attempt a description of those of Ali, I should speak of his face as large and full, the forehead remarkably broad and open, and traced by many deep furrows; the eye penetrating, yet not expressive of ferocity; the nose handsome and well formed; the mouth and lower part of the face concealed, except when speaking, by his mustachios and the long beard which flows over his breast. His complexion is somewhat lighter than that usual among the Turks, and his general appearance does not indicate more than his actual age, of sixty or sixty-one years, except, perhaps, that his beard is whiter than is customary at this time of life. The neck is short and thick, the figure corpulent and unwieldy; his stature I had afterwards the means of ascertaining to be about five feet nine inches. The general character and expression of the countenance are unquestionably fine, and the forehead especially is a very striking feature. Much of the talent of the man may be inferred from his exterior; the moral qualities, however, may not equally be determined in this way; and to the casual observation of the stranger, I can conceive from my own experience that nothing may appear but what is open, placid, and alluring. Opportunities were afterwards afforded me of

looking beneath this exterior of expression. It is the fire of a stove burning fiercely under a smooth and polished surface."

On the 29th of July, 1814, Mr. Richards had his first interview with Ali Pacha. "At the appointed hour of eight in the morning," says that gentleman, "I waited upon the Vizier's prime minister, Signor Colovo, and remained with him about half an hour before I could be introduced. It would have shocked the delicate nerves of an English under-secretary of state to have seen Ali's first secretary sitting in a miserable room, upon a low coarse sofa, surrounded with papers, the due arrangement of which entirely depended upon himself. Here was no elegant escritoire with its convenient pigeon-holes, no luxurious fauteuil, no massive silver standish, no obsequious amanuensis to relieve the ONUS of state correspondence. All the papers were in confusion; not a table was to be seen; and Signor Colovo, resting his paper on his left hand or on his knees, and dipping his pen into a small ink-bottle attached to his girdle, thus penned his despatches. We had some difficulty in gaining admittance within the gates of the seraglio, an order having been issued that no one should enter; but, after waiting a short time, we were called up stairs into a large ante-room, elegantly fitted up: through this we passed into another much handsomer; here we rested about an hour: this room is well

painted in the Italian style; about fifty different kinds of musquets, swords, and pistols, decorated the walls; some common, others handsomely set in gold and silver. In this chamber were twenty or thirty trunks, filled with state papers: a large window, forming entirely one side of the room, commands a beautiful view of the town and the surrounding country. Every room that we passed through was crowded with soldiers, officers, servants, &c. While we were waiting, twenty-six porters came out of the audience-chamber, carrying 56,000 dollars. The Vizier's youngest son, and also his nephew, a boy about eight years of age, had audience before us. At length it was our turn, and we were ushered in. I walked up to the Vizier, who was seated on a sofa at the farther end of a large room, kissed his hand, and paid the usual compliments. His chamber was beautifully painted, with abundance of gilding; an English carpet covered the floor, and round the room were sofas and cushions of red velvet embroidered with flowers of gold. The Vizier sat upon a beautiful large silk embroidered cushion. He was more plainly dressed than when I saw him at Preveza. On his head he wore a quilted purple velvet cap, with a narrow gold lace border; a brilliant diamond ring, about the size of a large button, glittered on his right hand; he had on silk stockings; and his pelisse, as usual with Turks of consequence, was made of silk

stuff, lined with costly fur. . On a small sofa near the fire-place lay pistols, swords, inkstand, snuff-boxes, &c. &c. all richly ornamented with precious stones. Different sorts of arms, superbly mounted, hung round the room. The treasure in it must have been immense ; but, as I am informed, nothing in comparison to what Ali possesses in other chambers.

“ I was received very graciously : fortunately the Vizier was in good humour. Having complained, that through the roguery of his agents, the contract I had made with him when at Preveza had not been executed to my satisfaction, he expressed his sorrow, assuring me at the same time of his good wishes towards all the English. After a little farther conversation, he ordered Signor Colovo to write an order, empowering me to take such part of the articles contracted for as I pleased, and when I chose. While the order was being made out, I had much familiar conversation with his Highness, who asked me many questions about Malta, England, &c. &c. He also pressed me very much to return to Preveza, and to remain there as his merchant. I asked him for a bouyourdee, or passport through his country, and he immediately had one prepared in my presence ; he moreover ordered one of his officers to accompany me wherever I chose, to procure me whatever I wanted, and to announce me as a person employed upon his special service.

Having once more kissed his hand, I took my leave. I should suppose Ali to be from sixty to sixty-five years of age: he certainly possesses quick intellects, and an excellent memory. Although very fat, he is active on horseback: he gives but a few hours notice before going a journey, and usually sets off in the night. Where the roads are good, he generally travels in a carriage. He sleeps but little; and is employed nearly the whole of the day in the management of his affairs. He is very close in money matters; eager to receive, but very remiss in his payments. Ali is supposed to be immensely rich: his revenue is said to be about twenty millions of piastres: this chiefly arises from his duty of 10 per cent. upon all articles of commerce. This sum being considered sufficient for his disbursements, all the in-comings from tributes, fines, plunder, profits from trade, &c. are left to accumulate. He is very strict in the administration of justice, not making the least distinction between Greek, Turk, or Jew. Ali is every where absolute; his will is law. Instances of Ali's cruelty are too numerous to admit of any doubt that it arises from a natural depravity of heart. The peculiar character of his subjects should, however, be taken into consideration. Under a mild government it would be scarcely possible to live amongst them: fear is the only principle by which they can be acted upon."

Leaving the judicious reader to compare these descriptions, we will return to M. Pouqueville.

The chase being ended, the Consul-General and his friend directed their course towards Joannina. A boat filled with rowers awaited them at the head of the lake within the city barriers : they were landed at the castle called Chatirwan, where apartments had been prepared by them. A large fire, pages, servants, and all the glittering *appareil* of eastern splendour, indemnified them in some degree for the privations they had undergone. It was agreed that they should remain *incognito*, till a courier, who had been sent to Constantinople should return to M. Pouqueville with the customary *barat* or *exæquatur*, a formal instrument, without which he could not be legally accredited. M. Julian Bessières, finding that day after day elapsed without the return of the courier, was under the necessity of setting off for France. "On the morning of the 4th of March," says M. Pouqueville, "I separated from my friend with the greatest heaviness of heart. I saw myself, as it were, abandoned amidst barbarians ; for very few Europeans had as yet visited Joannina. I found myself at the mercy of a man, of whom, spite of his apparent kindness, we already had had cause to complain. I must own, that the general aspect of the country and its inhabitants alarmed me most seriously, and filled me with the most gloomy apprehensions."

The courier who had been despatched to Constantinople having returned with the Grand Seignior's diploma, the next day the Greek and Turkish Primates were convoked at the Mekeme, to hear the *exæquatur* read, which was duly entered in the register of the Cadi. After this ceremony, and upon paying the customary fees, M. Pouqueville, invested with the French Consulate, was recognized in that capacity at the Court of the Vizier of Joannina. Scarcely had he entered upon his new office, than he determined to take an accurate survey of Epirus, a country as yet but little known to Europeans. He wished at first to go to Ochrida, by traversing the chain of the Pindus from south to north ; but his plans were constantly thwarted by Ali, under specious pretexts. The French were at that time in possession of the Illyrian Provinces, and he strongly suspected that the object of their Consul-General's journey into that country was to shew them the road into Epirus. He was very uneasy, and it being prudent to conciliate him, the Consul did not insist upon it ; circumstances, however, soon produced a change in Ali's politics.

CHAPTER VIII.

Ali's successes.—His lieutenant Jousouf-Arab.—Marriage of Ali's nephew.—Ibrahim's danger.—Ali conciliates Bonaparte.—His plans.—Seizes Preveza.—The Russian Consul arrested.—Joannina fortified.—Policy of Ali.—His real views.—Assassination of the Sultans.—Ali's demands.—His overtures to the English.—M. Pouqueville's journey.—Anecdote of Kiaya.—Ali at table.—Dr. Holland's description.—The inhabitants of Grebigno.—The ruins of Velas.—An antique discovered.—Preservation of two Englishmen.—Terror inspired by Ali.—His reception in the towns.—Ali's habits.—His great application to business.—Mode of raising the tributes.—Ali's despotism.—Law of inheritance.—Albanian widows.—Immorality of the Albanians.—Devotedness of a Dervise and a Greek.—Ali a monopolizer.—The interior of his palace.—His fears during illness.—His paroxysms.—His visits.—Audiences.—Ali's religious toleration.—Valiski.

AFTER having destroyed the Souliotes, Ali undertook clearing Cassiopeia of the *Armatolis*, or banditti who infested that province; and under pretence of establishing order in the Vaivodilick of Arta, seized Acarnania and Etolia. Still pursuing his encroachments, he afterwards reduced Salona, a town near Amphisa, the inhabitants of which he insulted by giving them a *papa* for a governor, threatening if they refused him, to send

them one of his scullions. At length, in the year 1806, he made himself master of entire Greece, with the exception of Bœotia and Attica.

Having effected these conquests, Ali confided the care of maintaining them to his lieutenant Jousouf-Arab, upon whom he relied so implicitly as to make him his *alter ego*, and the executor of his vengeance upon those people who yet maintained their independence. Torrents of blood, therefore, again flowed; again were whole towns reduced to ashes, and a flourishing province was once more reduced to the most utter state of desolation. Whilst these enormities were being perpetrated in the name of a merciless conqueror, Ali tore from the arms of her father the third and last daughter of Ibrahim Pacha, to bestow her in marriage upon his nephew Aden Bey, the second son of the incestuous Chaïnitza. Had Ibrahim united this daughter to some powerful neighbour, he might have found a support against Ali's ambitious projects; but, by this union, no refuge was now left him. Some hopes were, however, indulged from Ibrahim's only son being affianced to a daughter of Vely Pacha; but Ali had only proposed this with the view of more effectually deluding him whose destruction he had resolved upon.

The coalition of 1805, formed between England, Russia, and Austria, against Bonaparte, who had proclaimed himself Emperor, had just been des-

troyed at Ulm and Austerlitz. Under her celebrated military chief, France had become the most preponderating power of continental Europe, and Austria, being the first vanquished, was compelled to subscribe to the conqueror's conditions. The consequence was, not only the annexation of Dalmatia and Illyria to the French empire, but also the occupation of the kingdom of Naples by the troops of Bonaparte. So formidable a neighbour, threatening Epirus on three different sides, raised very serious reflections in the Vizier of Joannina. He was also informed that an approaching rupture was expected between Russia and Turkey; and that the French ambassador at Constantinople (General Sebastiani) began to be in great favour with the Divan.

By this intelligence he regulated his conduct. The same Ali Pacha who, in 1798, succeeded in cajoling the conqueror of Italy, was now seen employing all his prudence and address to conciliate the victor of Austerlitz. He was not unsuccessful; amicable relations were soon established between these two worthies, and Bonaparte gratified his newly acquired friend by several valuable presents, amongst others, a superb gun, ornamented with precious stones, and manufactured at Versailles. Encouraged by Napoleon to declare his hatred of the Russians, whom he continually called the *enemies of the Ottoman empire*, and with whom the French Emperor him-

self was no longer on friendly terms, Ali immediately perceived the part allotted him to act in approaching events, and only thought of turning them to his own advantage. His plan was to obtain the Pachaship of Salonica for his nephew Aden Bey ; to replace Ibrahim Pacha of Berat by his son Mouctar, and to establish Vely in the Morea.

Being thus surrounded by his lieutenants, (for he flattered himself with the reduction of Santa Maura,) he intended to have made the Ambracian Gulf the centre of a piracy not less famous than that of Algiers. The favourable moment for the execution of this plan had arrived, when he received intelligence of the invasion of the Turkish Ultra-Danubian Provinces by the Russians. Ali immediately seized Preveza, driving out Abdullah Bey, Vaivode of the Grand Seignior ; while the Russians, with equal celerity, threw a garrison into Parga, and thus, for the second time, saved the Christians of that town. At this signal, M. Flory, the Russian Consul at Joannina, was arrested, and preparations were made for war on all sides.

Ali pressed the French Consul in the most urgent manner to prevail upon his government to furnish him with artillery and engineers ; engaging not only to push the war vigorously against the Russians who were in the Seven Islands, but also to defend and succour Cataro.

His wishes were accomplished about the commencement of 1807. On the 14th February, the first detachment of artillerymen, under the command of Colonel Nicole and Captain Ponceton, began their march from Ragusa across Bosnia. At the same time a corvette and a gun-boat, having on board the second detachment with considerable stores, sailed from Naples, then governed by Bonaparte's brother.

Colonel Vaudoncourt, an officer in the Engineers, who was entrusted by Marshal Marmont with a mission to the Beys and Pachas of Albania and Epirus, remained in Ali's dominions to superintend the defensive operations. Under his directions, Ali first constructed fortifications around his capital; he also fortified his seraglio of Litaritza; and at Preveza raised redoubts and lines. Having made the latter place his grand *depôt*, he lost no time in attacking Santa Maura. The French artillerymen had been brought back in detachments from Porto Palermo, Santa Quaranta, Preveza, Missolongi, and Lepanto, and were all placed under the command of the Consul-general Pouqueville, who first inspected the redoubt, recently constructed by the French upon the height of Peratia, opposite the forts Alexander and Constantine, which are erected upon a small island adjoining Leucada, and then ordered forges to be set up, and a bridge to be thrown across the rivulet of Peratia, in order to

facilitate the communications with the battery of Teket, from which point it was proposed to cannonade the fortress of Santa Maura. Colonel Nicole and Captain Ponceton set the example of working to the soldiers and Grecian peasants placed under their orders; while the Albanian Turks, secure in their intrenchments from the Russian fire, insulted their new allies. The Consul-general had an opportunity of convincing himself that all attempt at military amalgamation with the Turks was utterly impracticable; they only see enemies in the Christians. The object which principally engaged the French was to effect a diversion by drawing the attention of the Russians towards Leucada, and thus prevent them from carrying reinforcements to the mouths of the Cattaro. Ali, on the contrary, was anxious to avail himself of the military power of France, to get possession of the Seven Isles, or at least of Santa Maura. This desire of gaining the Ionian Isles displayed the politician: Pyrrhus, and every king of Epirus who had understood his own interests, had expressed the same wish. For this national object he had combined the interest of his personal grandeur and family dignity; like so many other Pachas, his intention was not, as has been continually imputed to him, to render himself an independent sovereign, but to establish a large fief, an enterprise not altogether novel in the Ottoman empire. The Pachas of Mosoul, the

great Turkish Beys of Asia Minor, the Mamelukes of Egypt, and several Agas of Macedonia and Albania, already were in hereditary possession either of whole provinces, or of numerous districts. The Vizier of Joannina cannot, therefore, be justly taxed with being actuated by a rebellious spirit. So far from it, that in all his relations with the French government, he was careful to preserve the interests of the Turkish empire. In fact, the successive acquisition of all the small maritime cantons of Epirus was a work of enlightened policy, and one which was highly advantageous to the interest of Turkey in general. We should be guilty of historical partiality, were we to view only the evils which these small Christian provinces have suffered. Ali, as a Musulman, and as a Vizier of the Ottoman Porte, could not be expected to be either the protector of the Christian religion, or the promoter of European civilization. Why, then, should not allowances be made in his favour for the principles in which he was brought up, and the views with which his relative duties towards his country and his sovereign naturally inspired him?

Animated by other passions, and actuated by far different motives, the officers and agents of the French government could not consider him in this point of view. It was easily to be seen, therefore, that no great length of time would

elapse before the Vizier would be regarded as a faithless tyrant, ready to sacrifice every thing to gratify his own cupidity and ambition. Already Vaudoncourt, the colonel of engineers, complained that all his plans were counteracted by the Vizier's insatiable avarice. But as he had it in his instructions to keep the Russians in check, he submitted to all the caprices of Ali, not, however, without complaining very bitterly of him in his official correspondence, and describing him in the blackest colours.

During this short interval, great commotions had agitated the Turkish empire. Selim, the most just of monarchs, and his nephew Sultan Selim, had been assassinated ; and Turkey, after this catastrophe, found itself singly opposed to Russia. Ali, who as a politician should have justly appreciated the consequences of such a state of things, instead of conciliating his new neighbours, disgusted them by boldly requiring the reward of services which he had never rendered. He required the cession of Parga, and Santa Maura, and even the sovereignty of the Seven Islands. His demands, however, being rejected, he immediately made overtures to the English, who in their turn became as much his dupes as the French had been.

In the midst of these political intrigues and fresh negotiations, Ali determined upon making a progress through his Pachaship ; and in some of

his excursions was attended by the Consul-General of France, whose experience, abilities, and merit he well knew how to appreciate. Some sulphur-mines had recently been found in Mount Chamouri, and Ali, who was much interested in the discovery, engaged the Consul to accompany him in a journey he proposed taking to visit them. He at first directed his course towards Dgerovina, a village enclosed on all sides by mountains covered with ancient oaks. At this place there is a lake, of which many wonders are related; such as, that it has no bottom, that it absorbs whatever is thrown into it, &c. M. Pouqueville was not long before he found out the composition of fables invented by the Greeks. The Vizier informed him that he had formerly passed over this same lake in a boat, which completely falsified the story of its pretended quality of absorption: "Unless," said Ali, smiling upon those who heard him, "we except *stones*." He afterwards told us, that having caused the depth of the lake to be ascertained, the line had reported thirty fathoms at the borders, then forty, and in the middle from one hundred to a hundred and twenty. He could not help laughing when the French Consul informed him, that one of the professors of his college at Joannina asserted, that the lake ran underground, and that it formed the Vistrizta. "These people," replied he, "never see things like others. Yet *he* has been here

for some time ; but, like his brethren, he prefers adhering to old traditions rather than give himself the trouble of investigating facts. I know some (looking at his Kiaya, or lieutenant-general) who have a great talent for this ingenious art of story-making :—what is your opinion, wise one ?” The Kiaya, quite disconcerted, could not answer a word. “ That man,” continued Ali, “ is one of those who see in the dark. Would you believe it? he pretends that the plague is composed of a vast number of minute animalculæ, which would be visible through a magnifying glass, if one could be procured of sufficient power.” And after having thus amused himself at his general’s expense, “ You shall dine with us to-day,” said he to him. “ Consul, let us have some of the best wine. You have no objection to a glass, have you ?” The Kiaya excused himself. “ But you were not so conscientious a short time since. Well, since you intend a reformation, go and dine in the kitchen.”—“ But, my Lord, the law of the Prophet !”—“ Silence ! *I* am a Prophet in my own country ; and if I had a mind,” added he with a malicious smile, “ I could make you own it too.” At these words the Kiaya retired to take his repast in another apartment.

His splendid retinue of servants and pages having arranged the repast upon a magnificent sideboard of silver gilt, the guests were first presented with some meats served up in beautiful

porcelain from Sevres, ornamented with designs from the French school. According to the Vizier's custom, an entire lamb was placed before him, weighing about twelve pounds, of which he devoured more than half, besides several cloves of garlic, hard eggs, an eel, and many other dishes : contenting himself afterwards with touching a great many others with his finger, to shew that he liked them, and that they might be cleared away. Pilow, or boiled rice, the usual dessert of the Turks, and over which they pour curdled cream, being now served up, the Vizier, dipping in his spoon, discovered two or three small feathers : he immediately judged that his pilow had been boiled in the water in which the under-cooks steep the poultry previously to plucking it. " At that instant," says M. Pouqueville, " I saw the satrap turn pale, and immediately symptoms of alarm and terror seized his attendants. ' What is this ?—ah !' His voice was completely altered, when, his eyes accidentally meeting mine, not being able (I know not why) to continue his invective, he suddenly burst into a loud fit of laughter. . ' You see, my son, how I am served. Some day or other I shall certainly hang up a few of them.'—' That will not improve their cookery.'—' Oh, indeed, it will—If you knew how essential it is to good order.'—' For this once I hope you will pardon them.'—' Yes, but they must eat the pilow, boiled in the dish-

water, with all the feathers in it. (And this sentence was executed to the very letter.) But for you,' said he, 'their heads should be in my courtyard.' At this time there were about half a dozen exhibited there previously to being sent to Constantinople."

As a parallel passage, we may, perhaps, be allowed to quote the following from Dr. Holland's interesting work: "In his habits at table Ali Pacha is temperate, though by no means so strict a Musulman as to refuse himself wine. He almost always eats alone, according to the custom of Turks of high rank. His dinner usually consists of twelve or sixteen covers, which are separately placed on a tray before him. The dishes are chiefly those of Turkish cookery; in addition to which, a whole lamb, provided by his shepherds, is served up at his table every day in the year. His appetite is not at all fastidious; and I have been told, that his cooks, in providing for him, take liberties which, under a luxurious despot, would infallibly cost them their heads."

The sulphur-mine, the object of the journey, and upon which so many grand projects and speculations had been raised, was found near the surface of the earth. Experiments were made, furnaces erected, and orders were already given for the erection of manufactories, when the stupidity of an Italian, who was appointed superintendant of the works, happily disgusted the Vi-

zier with a scheme which he renounced with as much indifference as he had manifested eagerness to undertake it.

He retook the road to Joannina, along the chain of Mount Chamouri, in the upper valley of the Thyanus, and arriving at an *ambari*, or store for corn, he there rested. The inhabitants of the village, the near neighbours of Coucoulios, came to present his highness with a cup of milk and a few handfuls of meal, in token of the prosperity and abundance which spring under the footstep of a powerful man. "May you enjoy a long happy life!" said they to him: "may your years be many! for ourselves it is indifferent whether you hang or drown us, unless you diminish the taxes with which we are overwhelmed." The Pacha, without appearing to understand them, invited the consul to sit by him on some bags of corn, covered with a carpet; he made a sign to the peasants to retire, telling them, to go in peace, and pray God for him; assuring them, that if Providence preserved his life, they should want for nothing. At length his harangue being concluded, the petitioners had already passed the door, when he ordered them to be called back, and upon his saying to them, *that he held them near his heart*, it was hoped that he had relented towards these unfortunates. But, after a moment's silence,—
 "As a proof of which, at your own expense, you shall build me a residence contiguous to this

storehouse ; let it be done in six months without fail, or vengeance on your heads!"—"Write," said he to one of his secretaries, to whom he dictated the plan, the dimensions, &c. ; adding, in the midst of loud bursts of laughter, "It is a most charming spot ; I shall often have hunting-parties here : I must have some place to alight at."

At this decision, the French Consul also burst into a laugh. "This is your way," said the Vizier to him :—"now these rascally peasants have drained me dry ; they owe me an immensity of money, interest accumulated upon interest ; besides, they were the enemies of my father." As the poor wretches whom he thus accused were probably not born during the lifetime of Ali Pacha's father, the Consul, recollecting the fable of the 'Wolf and the Lamb,' was about to relate it to him, when one of the Vizier's counsellors made him a sign not to plead the cause of the inhabitants of Coucoulios.

As in his other journeys, the Vizier held his assizes wherever he happened to be, sometimes in a palace, at others by the side of a ditch. The monks belonging to the Monastery of Sosino having been summoned before him, they were required to give an account of the tithes belonging to the feudality ; fortunately they produced receipts sealed with his Highness's signet, who, out of his special favour, condemned them (under

pretext of not liking them) to cut, and transport in carts to Joannina every year, eight thousand logs of fuel-wood. At length a *Papa* was introduced, accused by the inhabitants of Grebigno with having caused the conflagration of a tower, the care of which had been entrusted to him as Devengi. The peasants, moreover, declared him to be a drunkard, and of a most implacable temper. The only answer returned by the Vizier was, that he wished to have his tower in the same state as when he had appointed the Balouk-Bachi to the command of it! To which the *Papa* coolly replied, that he could not have it—"though you were to hang me for it, which, however, will not be the case." "Well," said the Vizier, "this is candid." "First, let my lord know, that my whole property consists in my wife, who is now old, and in fourteen goats, which she leads to feed in the mountains. If these were all sold, they would not produce sufficient to construct even the door of the tower: my enemies know it; but your Highness is apparently ignorant that these men, so zealous in your service, have owed you for ten years the tithes upon wine: they who tax me with drunkenness, force the poor to furnish them with wine, and then drink it." "This is always the way I am served," said the Vizier, sighing; "and yet people wonder that I am poor!—And that makes every year?"—"More than ten thousand okkes

of wine, without reckoning the brandy which they distil." "Yes, wine and brandy! I have no person about me at all interested in my concerns: this is the way I am ruined—And that makes?"—"More than four thousand piastres a-year, my lord, at least." "Let us see, fifty thousand piastres, and as much for interest; for they have, no doubt, robbed me other ways! My son, I appoint thee Codja Bachi, (or Primate,) in the place of thy accusers, who shall be sent to prison till they have paid what they owe me; the village must rebuild the tower at its own expense; and as for thee, be a faithful servant!" Other causes were being called on, when the French Consul retired. Upon going to the Monastery of Jacovo, he saw the retinue of Mouctar Pacha, which, with his falconers and carriages, was proceeding towards Calibaki, whence he purposed returning to Joannina by the chain of Mitchikeli, to enjoy the pleasures of the chase.

Upon entering the convent, the Consul found there the Vizier's Kiaya and his Divan Effendi, or chief secretary. Dr. Louis Franck, at that time physician to Ali Pacha, joined them at supper-time, during which repast the Kiaya made a great parade of his learning, by extravagant tales and dissertations upon judicial astrology—reveries which, according to M. Pouqueville, are very prevalent among the Turks. The next morning, while it was scarcely day, they were informed by

a courier, that the Vizier expected them at the khan of Mazaraki; to which place he had repaired before sunrise. They immediately quitted Jacovo, and on keeping the right bank of the Thyamis, they perceived the ruins of Velas, the ancient Photice, the antiquity of which must be very great, since statues and architectural remains have been found there, which prove it to have been a flourishing city during the time of the Hellenes. The Vizier informed the French Consul that he had himself seen dug up the head of a human figure, of colossal proportions, and as big as a buffalo's : this was his expression.

After a short halt at the khan of Mazaraki, where the Vizier had ordered breakfast, he gave the signal for departure, and for this once took his leave without making any exactions : the inhabitants of Pagouna, informed of his approach, had fled into the mountains.

In returning from the cascade of Glizani towards Dridza, the French Consul saved the lives of two foreigners, whom a horde of furious barbarians was dragging before the Vizier. Hearing that they were Franks, he made his way through the crowd on horseback, and perceived two men bound together and almost naked, who, on seeing him approach, cried out that they were Englishmen. The Consul made them a sign to remain quiet, and, running to the Pacha, was the first to inform him of what was passing. They

were two sailors, who had been shipwrecked on the coasts of Acroceraunia, where they had been pillaged by the Chimariotes ; and, although the Porte was then at war with England, the Consul interested himself so warmly in their behalf, that the Vizier delivered them up to him.

A modern author has observed, “ that the presence of sovereigns, every where, causes a deceitful appearance. Their road is strewn with flowers ; and their approach is celebrated with festivals and rejoicings.” However true this observation may appear when applied either to our own country, or our neighbours, the contrary obtains in Turkey, where the mere announcement of the intended journey of one of their Pachas strikes terror into the inhabitants. In vain was Ali preceded by *bouyourdees of paternal love*, in which he announced to the people of the different districts through which he was to pass, *that he held them near his heart*, and that they should shortly have the felicity of *kissing the dust of his golden boots* ; the promise of so distinguished a favour only raised their cries for mercy. The canton threatened with a visit from the *kind master* (τοῦ καλοῦ αὐθεντος) assemble, and send a deputation to him, in order to *buy off* the honour of which they are so unworthy, and if avarice find their *reasons irresistible*, the route is changed. Should it, however, be impossible to avert the storm, measures are taken accordingly. The boys,

girls, and infants, are withdrawn to a considerable distance, all valuables are studiously removed, as at the approach of an enemy ; while the only persons left to greet their Pacha, are the papas and a few old men covered with rags. Instead of joyful acclamations, "curses not loud but deep," are heard, and the emphatic advice of (φεύγα μώρε, σού τρώγει ὁ αὐθεντις,) "*fly; the Vizier will devour thee.*"

"Whenever," observes M. Pouqueville, "I have followed any of the roads previously travelled by Ali Pacha, I have never failed to observe some ditch recently filled up, or wretches hanging on the trees. His footsteps were everywhere imprinted in blood ; and it was upon these occasions that, to display the extent of his power, he ordered executions as terrible as they were unexpected." Like Tiberius, his sentiment was, *oderint, dum metuant !*

If the journeys of the Vizier were a calamity for the country under his controul, his administration at home was not less dreaded. For his harsh and oppressive measures were seconded by such indefatigable industry, and application to business, that few of the victims either of his avarice or cruelty could escape.

Rising every morning before daybreak, he read the dispatches, and attended to the various petitions laid upon his sofa. Then closeting

himself with his secretaries, he would attend to affairs of finance, of which the chief was the invention of new taxes; in the imposition of which, he gave the preference to those villages which he was anxious should sell themselves as *tchiftliks*, in order to form a part of his private domains. When he paid his troops, it was always with clipped money, nor was his treasurer unprovided with counterfeit coin. When the time arrived for sending the tribute to Constantinople, he obliged the merchants to furnish a certain quantity of gold sequins, in exchange for a like sum of other coin; and if they found a difficulty in raising the required amount, he would advance it from his own treasury, upon payment of a certain bonus. In short, such was his avidity, that he levied contributions upon his chief officers of state, secretaries, magistrates, not excepting even the public executioners, who were compelled to allow him a share of the property of their victims. Nor was the ecclesiastical state exempted. The archbishops and bishops, were subjected to a periodical loss of favour, which they could only redeem by a very handsome *douceur*; while the monasteries and churches were overwhelmed with oppressive taxes.—In short no one could call his property his own; every one trembled for his own existence, and for the fate of his children, who were entirely at the mercy of the Vizier; for, by a refinement of des-

potism, he alone possessed the right of match-making among the opulent classes of society.—Thus, as a reward for treachery or panderism, he would bestow the hand of a rich heiress upon a wretch stained with the worst of crimes; and by an unexampled excess of barbarity, would force the most virtuous citizens to enter into immoral and abandoned connexions.

By a custom peculiar to Turkey, the Satrap is constituted the universal heir of his vassals. In virtue of this title, Ali seized the property of all those who left no male children. Nor would he make an allowance even for the daughters, but reserved them for the purpose of disposing of them in marriage as occasion required.—The natural consequence of this violation of every principle of equity and justice is, that whenever a person dies without direct heirs, the brothers and collateral relatives are excluded from any share of his property. Widows, if they have no male children, are driven from their husband's house, without a dowry, or any portion of property being assigned them. They may even consider themselves fortunate if not put to the torture, or sent to prison, under pretext of having concealed bills of exchange, jewels, or other valuables. Friends, relations, brothers even, are prevented by their fears from giving any asylum to these unfortunate women, who are frequently compelled to pass the night in the churches, and

to live upon charity, after having filled an honourable rank in society.

The immorality of a people is the natural consequence of that of their chief; and as Ali's was of no ordinary magnitude, so we find the depravity of his subjects to have been in the highest degree revolting to the feelings of humanity.—We will not sully our pages with enumerating vices which even a Suetonius might blush to record: it will be sufficient to observe, that such was the complete abandonment of every honourable feeling, that to obtain favour in the eyes of this odious tyrant, children denounced their parents; wives betrayed their husbands: in short, the tenderest sensibilities of our nature were outraged and insulted.—Even the fear of death itself was in more instances than one overcome by an enthusiastic devotedness to this modern Nero. While the wedding of the Vizier's third son was being solemnized, a Dervise threw himself headlong from the top of Ali's palace, crying out as he fell, *that he invoked upon his own head all the misfortunes that could threaten the young bride.*⁽¹⁾—Another instance was that of a Greek, who, seeing Ali's carriage approaching a part of the road in which there was a large hole, eagerly laid himself down in it, to prevent his master from being jolted.⁽²⁾ This detestable prostitution of the dignity of man, is the work of tyranny, the effects of whose utmost fury are less terrible

than those of its demoralizing and brutalizing influence.

Ali Pacha united in himself every branch of commerce. He was a landed proprietor, a farmer general, a merchant, a custom-house officer, and a tax-gatherer. It would be impossible to enumerate his various exactions. Sometimes they were imposed by his mere absolute will, at others, circulars were issued in which he called *upon those who loved him*, to assist him in the time of need; and it may easily be supposed that this invitation was not unattended to. Under the name of *Tamir*⁽³⁾ he appropriated to himself a certain portion of the public manufactures. Sometimes pretending to be visited with conscientious scruples, he would assemble merchants and affect to assist them in their distress. "The times are hard," he would say, "I know your wants, and am willing to assist you by a loan." Each individual was then obliged to take a certain sum at the rate of twenty or thirty per cent. interest. Anxious not to appear rich, his victim submitted to this extortion, hoping by the sacrifice of a part to save that of the whole.

With similar hypocrisy he would recompense the persons attached to his service, by empowering them to demand presents, or sending them to live at free cost, upon certain towns. Thus without opening his purse-strings he met all his expenses. Upon this principle, the carriage of all

articles for his consumption, the palaces which he built, and the fortifications which he constructed, were all executed by *Angari*, (⁴) a word which appears to belong peculiarly to his government.

The interior of the Satrap's palace presented contradictions as striking as did his administration. If the audience-chambers were resplendent with gilding, arms richly inlaid, and sofas covered with the delicate brocades of Lyons, they were also filled with furniture of every description, heaped together without the least taste or discrimination—the produce of his extortions either at home or abroad. Thus, wooden benches were to be seen near a table of the rarest marble, and a magnificent bronze clock from the manufactories of France would stand contemptuously by the side of its humble Dutch companion. Ali himself presented the same contradiction: sometimes he appeared clad in the most precious stuffs, wearing a cuirass glittering with diamonds, his fingers sparkling with *solitaires* of immense value, his head covered with a richly embroidered cap, holding in his hand a snuff-box covered with brilliants, or a string of large Oriental pearls (⁵); at others, he was to be seen only in a dilapidated chamber, or seated amongst his workmen, discussing the most important affairs amidst the noise of hammers, &c. “His pages are quite in character with the rest of this singular court;

although clad in richly embroidered garments, they are frequently without shirts, and are obliged to feed upon the coarsest fare. In winter time, an enormous fire warms the apartments of Ali, while his officers are starving with cold in the antechamber, eagerly extending their hand to the first comer, in order to obtain a trifling douceur. At the solemn festivals of the Bayram and the Courban, he frequently sets out upon a journey to avoid being obliged to give presents to his servants, who have generally to complain of his want of punctuality in paying them their wages. (6) In short, avarice is one of his predominant passions, which not even his ermined robe can conceal. Ali is at times not wanting in sensibility. 'Frequently,' says M. Pouqueville, 'I have observed his countenance change, upon my remarking *that he had lost the right* of being believed, even when he told the truth; on such occasions he would answer, that it had been his misfortune never to have found any but accomplices in his crimes, or obsequious executors of his will. It was during illness, especially, that he felt the most dreadful alarms. The hand of an avenging deity appeared raised over his head. A prey to the most dreadful apprehensions, he would break out into self-accusations and reproaches, conjuring his physicians, whom he called his brothers, to save him, at the same time promising them the most munificent rewards. Prisoners

were set at liberty, the prayers of the Dervises, and even of the Christians, were put in requisition. Scarcely, however, did favourable symptoms appear, than he became relieved from his fears, and would tax his doctors with want of ability, in order to have an excuse for not rewarding their attentions.’ ”

Ali was subject to periodical paroxysms, the approach of which could be perceived by the gloomy cast of his ideas. When suffering under them, he retired into the interior of his apartments; nor did any one then dare to speak to him upon business. The period for these fits was generally at the last quarter of the lunations, upon the approach of the rainy season, or when the unhealthy Sirocco (') had blown for several days. His diviners were then in constant attendance upon him; he interrogated them, related his dreams to them, and, according as their answers were consolatory, so his mental sufferings were alleviated.

In one of these dreadful paroxysms, Ali caused a Greek to be thrown into a cauldron of boiling oil, for having appropriated to himself some of the property belonging to the inhabitants of Arta who had died of the plague. About the same time he ordered one of his pages to be shot from the mouth of a cannon, his clothes having been previously steeped in spirits of wine.

“ The love of money frequently causes Ali to

descend from his high rank to associate with the lower orders of society. He does not even disdain to partake the banquet of the Jews, of his bootmaker, his tailor, or any other tradesman, for these kind of festivals (*ziaphet*) are always followed by presents⁽⁸⁾. He presides at the weddings of his officers and servants, giving them as a marriage portion part of the spoils which fall to him by way of inheritance.⁽⁹⁾ But neither this honour, nor the festivals with which he is entertained, hinder him the next day from loading his hosts with chains, if his caprice or interest requires it.

“The Vizier’s audiences are not less singular than his private habits. The court-yards of the palace are filled with thousands of petitioners imploring an interview. Some affix their requests to long reeds, in order to attract his attention; others pass entire days in a suppliant attitude under his windows, braving all inclemencies of the weather: the majority of these never obtain even a look from the tyrant, and many die with want and misery before they can procure admission into his presence.

“Although harsh and tyrannical in general, Ali’s government appears mild and liberal, when we consider the security which the mass of the people enjoyed, the religious toleration shewn to the Greeks, and the use which he made of the services of the latter; the contradiction, how-

ever, was only apparent, and a natural consequence of his situation and of his political system. The different parts of his dominions did not form one coherent whole; but his object was to remedy this defect, from a conviction that all must be united round his own person as a centre; and therefore, that none who could offer resistance must remain unsubdued. This he himself frequently declared to be his fundamental principle of action."

His administration, however, has found apologists; as a proof of which, the French Consul quotes the opinion of an Albanian philosopher, one who was well acquainted with France, had resided in Paris, and frequented the society of the literary contemporaries of Voltaire.

He thus expresses himself: "I was born at Premiti, and am an undeniable proof that a wise and prudent man can be happy everywhere. I have seen Versailles and the King of France: I have witnessed the most refined civilization: I have resided among the most polished nation in the world; and yet I sighed to re-visit my native land. For fifteen years I have served Ali Pacha as his interpreter, without experiencing at his hands either ingratitude or great favour. His government, which to you may perhaps appear severe, is the best calculated for the subjects whom he commands: his extortions and his cruelties are suited to the ferocious character of the

Albanians: a nation of robbers must have a tyrant for their ruler. My language may, perhaps, astonish you; but only ten years ago you would have been assassinated, or sold as a slave, by the very people who now surround you, and from whom you receive the attentions of hospitality."

The whole of Ali's tyrannical system presented striking contradictions. For instance, his religious toleration was in some respects partial: he seemed to grant a special protection to those whom his religion reprobated. Under this point of view, a Christian in criminal cases was always more favoured than a Musulman. Hence, perhaps, the protection which he afforded to public instruction in favour of the Christians, even in the interior of his seraglio. As a consequence of this system, Ali permitted his wives the most entire freedom in cases of religion; and upon the death of Emineh, the beloved wife of his heart, he even chose a Christian as her successor—Reine Vasiliki of Paramithia, a model of virtue and piety. Her elevation was one of those prodigies so often occurring in absolute governments. Ali in 1800 had prosecuted her father for coining; and the whole family being seized, Ali accidentally saw Reine, then quite young. He ordered her to be brought up in his harem. The graces of her form, which was of surprising beauty, having now attained perfection, Ali mar-

ried her, thus raising her from the condition of a poor peasant to be wife to the sovereign of Epirus, without even requiring her to abjure the rites of baptism which she received at her birth. "If I renounced my God," said she to him, "if I abjured the Holy Virgin, the protector of my infancy, how could you confide in the attachment of a woman who sacrificed the riches of immortality for the perishing honours of this life?" Far from offending Ali, this generous sentiment increased his affection for his young wife; and he not only permitted, but insisted, that an oratory adorned with images should be erected in his palace, before which she might burn incense to the true God.

In conformity, however, with etiquette, to which even the most powerful are slaves, the empty title of *Cadine*, or Lady of the Harem, was bestowed upon a Turkish woman, while the Christian Vasiliki was the true sultana, and possessed an ascendancy acquired by the graces and virtues of her character.

CHAPTER IX.

Ali's designs against Ibrahim Pacha.—Omer Bey Brioni.—Honourable conduct of Mouctar and Vely.—Ali a mediator.—Capitulation of Berat.—Generosity of Omer.—Displeasure of the Porte.—Ali's cunning.—His letter to the Divan.—Pretends illness.—Characteristic sketches of Mouctar and Vely.—Defeat of the Turks.—Flight of Ali's two sons.—Vely deprived of the Morea.—Is made Vizier of Thessaly.—Policy of the Porte.—Ibrahim betrayed to Ali.—Ali's numerous vassals.—His treatment of the Beys of Avlona.—Ali the ally of the English.—Betrays them.—Firmness of M. Pouqueville.—Taking of Santa Maura.—Expedition against the Servians.—Submission of the inhabitants of Philates and Conispolis.

THE destruction of the Souliotes rendered the other chiefs engaged in the league of Chamouri an easy prey to Ali. Some, corrupted by his money, had given him hostages; and all, trembling at the mere sound of his name, only desired permission to live in peace in their native mountains. Parga found a defence under the French flag from the fury of its natural enemy; Acroce-raunia had received the yoke, while Taulantia was torn by the factions of the Beys of Avlona, who betrayed Ibrahim Pacha. In vain did the

Vizier endeavour to retain them in his interest: as he had no longer any money to subsidize those whom he had enriched, they all took the first opportunity of deserting him.

Ali Pacha, now become more formidable than ever, resolved to inflict the last blow upon the unfortunate Ibrahim. As an open attack would have infallibly compromised him in the public opinion, and rendered him obnoxious to the Porte, he prepared the way for his intended hostilities, by the propagation of well-invented calumnies. He wrote therefore by every courier to Constantinople, and caused the report to be circulated through the medium of his Capi-tchoadars, that Ibrahim had been gained over by the French, to whom he intended ceding his territory. Forged proofs of this crime were produced, and attested by suborned witnesses. But these artifices did not succeed with a monarch who, notwithstanding his youth, already gave indications of a firm and decided character. Ali, accustomed never to abandon his plans of aggrandizement or vengeance, kept up a system of dissimulation till the year 1810, when, judging the favourable moment had arrived, he determined to prosecute his plans indirectly through the instrumentality of an adventurer, whom, if necessary, he could at any time disavow. This individual was Omer Bey Brioni, a turbulent man, whom Ibrahim had banished, after confiscating

his estates. During his exile he had distinguished himself in Egypt against the English, and he returned into Epirus with an immense fortune and a great reputation for valour. At any other time his riches would have been his destruction; which was for the present deferred by him who had occasion for his services. In concert with the Beys of Avlona, Ali induced him to take the field against Ibrahim, under pretence of recovering his possessions. Hitherto nothing had occurred that was inconsistent with the customs of the Albanians, who are accustomed to settle their differences by force of arms. But Omer Bey, instead of taking the field like a chieftain, at the head of a few partisans, marched against Berat with a corps of eight thousand men, followed by a field and battering train, with artillery-men, pioneers, &c. This expedition gave almost universal dissatisfaction; while Mouctar Pacha, who religiously kept the promise he had made his father-in-law of never carrying arms against him, lamented his situation, without being able to ameliorate it. Vely, at that time Vizier of the Morea, had vainly protested against this attempt. At length Ali set off for Tepelini, there to await results, and apply them to his own advantage. The issue was not doubtful; for Ibrahim, whose finances were quite exhausted, had only time to retreat into his castle with a few followers, and

four cannoneers, to work his numerous artillery. Ali, finding that there were no dangers to undergo, no battles to fight, but only a victim to be sacrificed, was anxious to have the glory of a victory, since it could be obtained without peril. He therefore left Tepelini, and arrived at the camp of Omer Brioni, in quality of mediator, bringing with him considerable reinforcements, for the purpose, as he said, of making his mediation respected. As he intended his intervention should be fruitless, preparations were made for attacking the citadel, the breaches in which had been repaired by faggots of wood and large boxes filled with earth. Bombs were then thrown into the town, and the batteries opened their fire, while a mine was commenced for the purpose of blowing up Ibrahim in his palace; but before it was completed, a capitulation was proposed. Although this was not Ali's object, yet as Ibrahim was very much respected, he found himself compelled to allow him, upon his giving up Berat, to retire to the fortress of Avlona with his wife. As an hostage, he gave his only son, who was immediately sent off to Joannina.

It was a melancholy day for the Albanians to see Ibrahim, and the daughter of Courd Pacha, his wife, abandon for ever the palace of their ancestors! Nothing but lamentations and murmurs of regret was heard on all sides. In vain did Ali endeavour to raise a commotion, that he

might have a pretext for assassinating the vanquished, in defiance of the capitulation he had just concluded. To the praise of Omer Brioni be it said, that at the head of a body of cavalry, he covered the retreat of the fallen Vizier Ibrahim, nor did he withdraw his protection till Ibrahim had arrived at the gates of Avlona.

The intelligence of Ali's occupation of Berat; created much displeasure at Constantinople, and it was supposed that the Grand Seignior would have instantly punished the aggressor; but in addition to the confusion created by a new reign, the war with Russia was to be prosecuted, and the insurrection of the Servians to be quelled.—Dissimulation was therefore necessary; and as, under such circumstances, to temporize is to pardon, the Ottoman ministers graciously accepted the spoils of Ibrahim, sent them as a *douceur* by his unprincipled conqueror. The preservation of appearances is, however, necessary even in the concessions extorted from cowardice and imbecility, and a show of displeasure was therefore affected towards Ali. His bribes had their eloquence; his beautifully embossed arms, and generous steeds of Musache, were all duly appreciated; but he, notwithstanding, received orders to take the field, and to join the Grand Vizier at Choumle. The Satrap, who perfectly comprehended what this meant, immediately retook the road to

Joannina, causing himself to be carried in a litter as if dangerously ill. At the same time he wrote in the most submissive terms to the Divan, *that he was most anxious to obey its orders, by consecrating to the service of his Sultan the remnant of a life passed in combating his enemies; a signal proof of which, alas! he had just given, in punishing the father-in-law of his two sons, a man who had sold himself to the Russians and the French.* He concluded by observing, *that the only strength now left him by the infirmities of age, was that of addressing to heaven and the prophet, his fervent prayers for the success of his master's arms against the Muscovites.* These obsequious letters he backed by magnificent presents, and still more magnificent promises to the ministers.—From that moment the only topic at Joannina was the infirmities of the Vizier; whenever he gave audience he was seen surrounded by a host of doctors assembled from every part of his dominions. He wore green spectacles, *on account of the blindness* with which he was threatened; and adopted a regimen calculated to *remedy the inroads made upon his constitution by youthful excesses.*

Very few were the dupes of his artifices, but appearances were to be saved, and the *irresistible reasons* of his Capii-tchoadars procured the order respecting him to be commuted by allowing his sons Mouctar and Vely to be his substitutes.

As no opportunity has yet occurred of sketch-

ing the characters of Ali's sons, we shall here insert the following ably drawn portraits.

“ Ali's eldest son, Mouctar, possesses personal courage, probity, and generosity; he is a friend to the arts and sciences; his attachment to Phrosina has given to his disposition mildness and polish. War, however, is his favourite pursuit; and, when he cannot follow it, the chase serves him for his recreation. He is plain in his dress, temperate, bold, and unsuspecting; he wanders through the mountains on foot, is contented with bread and water, if necessary, and with the hardest couch. In camp he fares like a common soldier, and sleeps upon the ground, wrapped in a coarse Albanian cloak. As it is known that he punctually fulfils his engagements, every body is ready, all over his father's dominions, to meet his wishes. Whatever is lent to him, he always repays at the time stipulated; he often adds presents, and in all cases obliging expressions of acknowledgment. Fourteen days before he was forced to depart for Lepanto, he caused it to be proclaimed by sound of trumpet, that whoever had any claims upon him should apply for payment. He accordingly paid them all; and meeting in the streets one of his creditors, who had just returned from a journey, he made his train halt, in order to pay him likewise. The strictness and integrity of his principles cause a certain coolness between Mouctar and his

father, to whom he, however, always behaves with becoming respect : the same principles make him despise his brother, whom he considers as an extravagant and dishonourable man. Ali, on his side, has no attachment to Mouctar, whom he rather fears. The Greeks love and esteem him, and the reverence of the Albanians for him knows no bounds."

" Ali Pacha's second son, Vely, in many respects resembles his father. Like him, he is covetous, ambitious, false, and distrustful. He is rapacious, and does not perform what he promises. He is often in want of money, but does not find people inclined to lend, as his brother does. He is a lover of magnificence and show ; dress and furniture are important concerns with him ; and his effeminate and dissolute way of life is very expensive. By his extravagance he has deeply involved himself in debt. Those who serve him are paid ill, or not at all. He shows a great propensity to European manners and customs, and the liberty that distinguishes them. He wishes very much to have a theatre : one day he asked the French Consul, showing him the finest mosque in Joannina, whether it were large enough to be converted into a theatre in the Italian style ? He had a very great desire to travel through Europe, partly in order to show himself at the different courts as a rich and powerful prince, and partly to make himself acquainted

with European manners. He made a proposal to this effect to his father, and endeavoured to gain his assent to it upon political motives. But Ali Pacha, who knows his son to be a great prodigal, saw very well that the business might cost him some millions of piastres; and would not hear of it. Vely also possesses personal courage, by which he acquired distinction and reputation during the last war against Russia. He is jealous of his brother; and it is not probable, that when his father dies he will be disposed peaceably to acknowledge his right of primogeniture, and leave to him the government of Joannina. Ali has indeed more regard for him than for Mouctar, yet still his distrust extends also to him."

When the undisciplined state of a Turkish army is taken into consideration, it will not appear surprising that fifty thousand Russians should hold in check, and even defeat, the forces of the Grand Vizier, occupying the right bank of the Danube. In one of these engagements which took place, Ali's sons owed their safety to flight; but so judiciously was their retreat conducted, that they would have re-entered their provinces at the head of their troops, if Vely Pacha had not received intelligence that he was no longer Vizier of the Morea. The Porte visited the faults of the father upon the son. But though deprived of the Morea, Vely was nominated to the Vizierat of Thessaly, and at the same time a Rumelie-Valisee

was appointed for Monastir. By these measures the Grand Seignior detached Cisaxian Macedonia from the domains of Ali; while, in nominating Vely to the Vizierat of Thessaly, he scattered the seeds of a rivalry, which might have entailed disastrous consequences but for the submission of Vely to his father's orders.

The old Satrap, irritated at a reverse which he could only attribute to his own misconduct, lost no time in letting the whole weight of his resentment fall upon Ibrahim Pacha. Not satisfied with having driven him into his last retreat, he forced him to abandon this asylum, and fly into the mountains of Acroceraunia, where, betrayed by his own followers, he with his wife were delivered into the power of their persecutor. Ali, far from showing him the attentions due to his rank and relationship, after having imprisoned him for some time at Conitza, at length tore him from the arms of his wife, and cast him into the dungeons belonging to the seraglio of Joannina. There languished for years, occasionally exposed to Ali's bitter taunts, the wretched Ibrahim; nor could the tears of his two daughters, nor the entreaties of their husbands, Mouctar and Vely, nor even the prayers of Aïsche, Ali's interesting grand-daughter, soften the tyrant's heart, or induce him to relax his severity.

One vizier imprisoned by another was a thing unexampled in the annals of Turkish rebellions;

and the Porte began to manifest its displeasure. But some rich presents sent to Constantinople, and the British interest, which was still favourable to the Pacha, averted the threatened storm. Ali remained in entire possession of Berat, and increased his power to such a height, that the Divan appeared stupified with the blow which had thus been given to the sovereign authority. It was the result of the struggles, intrigues, and crimes of thirty years—a result which produced the submission of the Pachas of Elbassan and Croïa, and of the Vaivodes of Taulantia, who all appeared as vassals at the court of Joannina. Not only subsidized Beys, but the Pachas of Higher Albania, and all the illustrious chiefs of continental Greece, hastened to prostrate themselves before the throne of Ali. Among this crowd of courtiers were the Beys of Avlona, who, having seconded his projects against Ibrahim, were admitted into Ali's highest favour, and were continually near his person. When he had succeeded in uniting them all at his court, he suddenly precipitated them from the midst of fêtes and pleasures into gloomy dungeons; while in the mean time his emissaries had seized their wives and children, and transported them to Joannina, with all their wealth. Such was the merited punishment of those who had betrayed a worthy and gracious master in favour of a tyrant! Their treasures, their furniture, their flocks, without reckoning

the value of their land which Ali confiscated, enriched him with at least thirty thousand purses. Ali one day took the French Consul into an apartment of his palace full of gold specie lying in heaps: this, he told him, was produced from the spoils of the Beys of Avlona, and represented the amount as being above twelve millions.

From his vicinity to the French possessions in the Ionian Seas, the English had for some time been anxious to rank Ali among their allies, hoping that his turbulent disposition might occasion a rupture between France and Turkey. Ali, disappointed in his hopes from France, accepted our proposals, and certainly received from us more assistance than either his character or services deserved. Lord Collingwood, at one time, relied on his co-operation in our expedition against the French forces in the Seven Islands; but it was soon found that he was not to be depended on. During the siege of Santa Maura, this pretended ally of Great Britain secretly introduced into the besieged place Baudrand, a French colonel of engineers, at the very time he was entertaining the English General and Mr. Foresti, the British Resident, at supper, and cajoling them with professions of inviolable fidelity and attachment. He also assisted M. Pouqueville in getting provisions, signals, &c. into the fortress; and even offered, if the French General

would evacuate the citadel, to take possession of it himself, and then make common cause with the French against the besiegers.

But no example had as yet been given to Europe of a civilized town being delivered up to the Turks, as was subsequently the case with Parga; and the very idea of so horrible a perfidy, which would have placed a whole Christian population at the mercy of Ali, made M. Pouqueville reject the proposition, and prefer letting events take their own course. Santa Maura at length capitulated; and General Oswald, after having taken possession of it, came to receive the congratulations of his *loyal and faithful* ally, and to thank him for having so *materially* contributed to the success of his enterprise.

A short time after this event, Ali's court was visited by many English travellers, illustrious either by their rank or talents. Amongst others, Lieutenant-general Stuart, the conqueror of Maida; Major-general Airey, and Sir Hudson Lowe; to these succeeded an immense number whose curiosity had been excited by the great celebrity of Ali Pacha, and who expected to find in him either the Pyrrhus or Scanderbeg of Epirus. The peace of 1812, between Russia and Turkey, left the Grand Seignior at liberty to direct his forces against the Servians, who had been for nearly twelve years in a state of revolt. Neither Ali nor his two sons, whose conduct at

Routchouk and Loocha had given dissatisfaction, were called upon to partake the glory of this national expedition. With singular inconsistency, however, the Porte conferred the title of Bey of *Berat* upon Mouctar Pacha. This was sanctioning the conduct of Ali against Ibrahim, whose misfortunes were attributed to the secret displeasure of the Divan. This report, though false, being circulated by Ali, brought about the submission of the inhabitants of Philates and Conispolis; the only remaining towns, therefore, in Acroceraunia which now defied his power, were Argyro-Castron and Gardiki.

CHAPTER X.

Taking of Argyro-Castron.—Ali's expedition against Gardiki.—Resolution of its inhabitants.—Hospitality of General Donzelot.—Disaffection of the Gardikiotes.—They capitulate.—Suicide of Sali Bey and his wife.—Treatment of the Gardikiotish hostages.—Ali's hypocrisy.—Attempt to assassinate them.—Their imprisonment.—M. Pouqueville's interview with Ali.—His affected remorse.—His views upon Parga.—Chäinitza's letter to her brother.—Ali's arrival at Libochobo.—His reception by his sister.—Amnesty proclaimed to the Gardikiotes.—Their despair on quitting Gardiki.—Repair to Chendria.—Are enclosed in a khan.—Their massacre.—Gardiki razed to the ground.—Chäinitza's vengeance and brutality.—The Gardikiotes sold as slaves.—Ali commemorates the massacre.—Arrives at Tepelini.—Immolates twelve Gardikiotes.—His grand festival.—Gives orders to assassinate the hostages.—Their assassination.—Terror in Joannina.—Strangles Mustapha.—The Cheik Jousouf.—His interview with Ali.—His denunciation.—Marriage of Vely's daughter.—Fulminating powder.—Destruction of Jousouf Bey of Dribes.—Death of Aïsche.

MACHIAVELLI has observed, that in war nothing is so easy as that which appears impossible. Argyro-Castron was so celebrated throughout Albania, that it had been hitherto deemed im-

pregnable, from its position and the valour of its inhabitants; but the new tactics of Ali, who had now abandoned the Albanian mode of warfare, spread amongst them the utmost terror and alarm. Supported by a numerous train of field and battering artillery, and howitzers, and well furnished with Congreve rockets from the arsenals of Malta and Messina, he was certain, even by the noise alone of these new instruments of destruction, to intimidate a people accustomed only to the strategy of the middle ages. Scarcely, therefore, had the Vizier's bombardment destroyed a few windmills, and cut off the water from Argyro-Castron, than the inhabitants offered to capitulate.

Ali, who, like a sovereign, directed the operations of this war from his cabinet, no sooner learnt the reduction of Argyro-Castron, than he ordered his lieutenants to march against Gardiki. At any other time this enterprise would have been the height of rashness; and in defiance of his artillery, Argyro-Castron, situated upon a lofty mountain, surrounded with embattled walls, furnished with loop-holes, and defended by a courageous garrison, would have "laughed a siege to scorn."

The Gardikiotes were aware that the least delay in the operations, or momentary failure in the attack, would be the signal for the revolt of all the villages of Acroceraunia—an insurrection

which would not fail to be supported by the French authorities at Corfu. The determined resolution, also, of Mustapha, Pacha of Delvino, the present head of the French party, and of the principal Beys of the Chamouri, who had sought an asylum among them, contributed to increase their confidence. Thus they hoped that their defence would be that of despair: they were moreover animated by the assurances of powerful assistance from the Grand Seignior, provided they could hold out for a few months. An emissary was secretly despatched from Constantinople, commissioned to determine the Beys who were inimical to the Vizier, to rally round Gardiki, and there defend themselves. But for these assurances they would have found a more secure retreat at Corfu, in the hospitality of General Donzelot, who was lavish of his assistance to the refugees and proscribed of Epirus. Ali Pacha, far from being alarmed at this new confederacy, only viewed it as allowing him a favourable opportunity of exterminating the whole of his enemies at a single blow. Besides, Gardiki was the place where the unutterable indignities to his mother and sister had been offered. Regarding the accomplishment of his mother's last will as a sacred duty, he wished that this accursed town, the dishonour of his family, and the asylum of his inveterate foes, should drink the cup of vengeance to its very dregs. Doubtless

his sister Chaïnitza herself inflamed his ardour for revenge.

Hostilities were therefore immediately commenced ; and had continued with various success for about a month, when symptoms of disaffection were manifested by the middling class of the inhabitants. This portion of the people, accustomed to agricultural labours, and the freedom of a pastoral life, found themselves much straitened within fortifications, which they were also obliged daily to defend. The cry of capitulation was therefore soon heard, and the chiefs found themselves obliged to submit, by accepting terms ostensibly honourable and satisfactory to all. Ali Pacha affected upon this occasion so open and generous a conduct, that the negotiations experienced scarcely any of that delay usual in similar cases. The capitulation expressed, in clear and unambiguous terms, that *Mustapha Pacha, Demir Dost, formerly Ali's companion in arms ; Sali Bey Coka, descended from the first tribe of the Goks or Guegues, settled in Albania ; and seventy-two Beys, chiefs of the most illustrious phares of the Schypetars, all Mahometans, and principal vassals of the crown, should proceed freely to Joannina, where they should be received and treated with all the respect due to their rank. It moreover stipulated that their property and families should be respected ; that the inhabitants of Gardiki, without exception, should be considered as the most*

faithful of Ali's subjects; that all resentments should be forgotten, and that Ali should be recognized as the master of a town which he took under his special protection, without permitting any person to be molested or persecuted for acts anterior to its occupation by him.

In consequence of this capitulation, sworn to upon the Koran! a portion of the town was delivered up to the Satrap's lieutenants. Confidence, however, was not completely established; for Sali Bey Coka and his wife, who had been divorced from Mouctar Pacha, preferred committing suicide rather than fall into Ali's power. But the other chieftains, less resolute, instead of imitating so heroic an example, took the road to Joannina, supported by hope, the consolation of the unfortunate, and which follows man even to the tomb. Their path, like that of the victims led to the altars of the Eumenides, was strewn with flowers. Relays were prepared for them along the road, lodgings were in readiness in all the towns they passed through; and, upon entering the capital of Epirus, they were received with the sound of music, and with all the pomp reserved for those whom the prince "delighteth to honour."

Ali, who was waiting for them in his palace, hastened himself to meet them; and as he raised them, after they had kissed his feet, and struck the earth with their forehead, he reproached

them with their defection, but in terms so mild, that they could be under no apprehensions for their personal safety. Each had his particular quarters assigned him in the Vizier's Castle of the Lake: they were even permitted to retain their arms, their accustomed guard, and their domestics; the latter being praised by Ali for their fidelity.

This was in the month of February 1812. During the night of the 6th or 7th March, a brisk fusillade was heard at the Castle of the Lake, followed by a dreadful cry, which too plainly informed the affrighted town that the hostages had been attacked. It was reported the next day, that the Vizier, with whom nothing was sacred, had endeavoured to assassinate them in the dead of the night, but that, being on their guard, and intrenched within their apartments, they had fired upon their assassins, which gave them the advantage of waiting till daylight to obtain quarter;—that they had then surrendered their arms;—that Ali, not daring to massacre them in sight of the public, had contented himself with loading them with chains, upon the pretext of their having endeavoured to escape,—and that he had removed them into the prisons of the Monastery of Sotiras, situated in the middle of the lake.

Having, by this iniquitous proceeding, made himself master of Mustapha Pacha, and the

seventy-two hostages, the Vizier Ali declared his resolution of proceeding to Gardiki, for the purpose, as he said, of establishing order in that town, instituting a court of justice, and forming a police for the protection of the inhabitants. On the 19th March, 1812, the day fixed for his departure, M. Pouqueville had an audience of the Satrap, which we shall describe in his own words. "The troops had been on the march since the morning; the baggage was quitting the seraglio; the pages, completely armed, were awaiting the order to mount, when I traversed the courts, crowded with suppliants anxious to catch a look from their oppressor. Never will this moment be effaced from my memory. I had to pass by heads newly severed from their trunks, and stuck upon poles; and, although in some degree accustomed to such sights, I was seized with involuntary tremblings.—Having reached the vast apartments of the palace, the Consul of France was announced, the embroidered curtain was raised, and I entered.

"Ali was seated on the edge of his sofa in a pensive attitude, leaning upon a battle-axe. He was covered with a scarlet mantle, and wore boots of crimson velvet. The Consul had placed himself, according to etiquette, on his right hand, when Ali, recovering from his fit of abstraction, after having looked earnestly at him for some time, made a sign for his ministers to

withdraw. ‘Is it you, my son?’ said he, in a faltering voice; then taking one of the Consul’s hands, holding it within his own, he lifted his eyes, suffused with tears, to Heaven. ‘Destiny is fulfilled: my enemies, notwithstanding their late attempt at escape, have not been able to exhaust my patience: they are in my power, but I will not use it to their destruction. Believe what I say, my dear Consul: forget your prejudices against me. I do not ask you to esteem me; I will force you to do so, by adopting a line of conduct the very reverse of that which I have hitherto pursued. My career is now accomplished, and I will crown my labours by showing that, if I have been terrible and severe, I also know how to respect justice and humanity.’

“These sentiments were so unexpected,” resumes M. Pouqueville, “that I even hesitated to congratulate him upon them, and he continued. —‘Alas! my son, the past is now beyond recall; I have shed so much blood, *that its wave follows me, and I dare not look behind.* I desired fortune, and she has been prodigal of her gifts; I wished for palaces, a court, magnificence, and power,—these I have obtained. When I compare my father’s hut with this palace, resplendent with riches, I feel that I *should* be at the summit of felicity.—But, alas! if you knew what all this costs me, I should become the object of your pity. Friends, parents, all I have sacrificed to

my ambition. I have been deaf even to the appeals of nature. I am surrounded by those whose families I have destroyed;—but away with these recollections. My enemies are in my power, and I will vanquish them by benefits. Argyro-Castron shall be the retreat of my old age, and Gardiki the garden of Albania.

“ ‘These are my ultimate views; and if I could but obtain Parga, which I have entreated of you so long—Parga, for which I would pay your government its own price, besides a brilliant fortune for yourself, my every wish would then be gratified. I do not invite you, my son, to accompany me in my present journey; the season is bad; and as I shall soon return, we will then go to Preveza to spend the first fine days of spring. Pray write what I have just said to your ambassador, for my enemies will not fail to calumniate me at Constantinople.’ As he concluded, he gave his grand chamberlain the order for departure; and we separated.”

It is a weakness common to tyrants to persuade themselves that their assertions must be credited, because, possessing an absolute authority over men's persons, they imagine they can lord it even over their minds. This reflection prevented M. Pouqueville from becoming Ali's dupe. Far from attaching any credit to Ali's professions, he was the more on his guard against him, for in the East the affectation of sentiment in the

statesman is always the prelude to an act of perfidy. M. Pouqueville was not long in doubt respecting Ali's intentions, for he had scarcely set off for Gardiki, when the contents of a letter he had received from his sister Chaïnitza were communicated to the French Consul.

Ever since the death of her favourite son Aden Bey,(¹) the cruel daughter of Khamco had retired to Libochobo, and she was still plunged in all the depth of maternal grief, when her vengeance was aroused by the news of the capture of Gardiki.— Upon which occasion she thus wrote to her brother.

“ Neither the title of Vizier, nor the name of brother, will I henceforth allow thee, if thou keepest not the oath sworn to our mother over her inanimate corpse. If thou be, indeed, the son of Khamco, thou oughtest to raze Gardiki to the ground, exterminate its inhabitants, and deliver up its females to me, to dispose of them according to my will and pleasure. It is only on mattresses stuffed with the hair of the Gardikiotish women, that Chaïnitza will henceforth repose. Absolute master of the Gardikiotes, forget not the outrages which we suffered in the days of our wretched captivity: the hour of vengeance has now arrived; let them be annihilated.”

On the third day after his departure from Joannina, the Vizier alighted at his sister's palace at Libochobo. It was remarked, that, after their

first interview, the tears of Chaïnitza, which, since the death of Aden Bey, had flowed incessantly, ceased as if by enchantment. Her apartments, hitherto hung with gloomy draperies, were now covered with the richest Persian carpets, and ornamented with the gayest furniture; her women resumed their finery; she herself reappeared in public, and received visits as she had formerly done in her days of maternal happiness and triumph. She celebrated the return of her brother with fêtes, singing, and music. Ali, upon rising from the banquet at which he had presided, proceeded to the Castle of Chendria.

Erected on the summit of a rock, at a short distance from the right bank of the Celydnus, this fortress commands the entire valley of Drynopolis; from the neighbouring heights is seen Gardiki and its surrounding territory. It was here that the Vizier sat in judgment. At day-break, heralds appointed for the purpose arrived at Gardiki, and proclaimed in his name a general amnesty; at the same time ordering all the males, from the age of ten years, to repair to Chendria, there to hear from the Vizier's own mouth the decree which restored them to happiness.

Notwithstanding this declaration, consternation was general amongst the inhabitants. The mosques were filled with old and young, imploring God and his prophet, while Heaven's vault resounded with the cries of the women, who had

rushed from the harems to see and embrace their husbands, children, or brothers. A fatal presentiment seemed to intimate to them that it was for the last time. The Gardikiotes proceeded sorrowfully towards Chendria: they descended the hills, and, having arrived in the plain, turned with "longing, ling'ring look" to salute their natal town ere it disappeared from their view. Overcome with grief, they mingled the name of Gardiki with their sighs; and forcing themselves from the spot whence they could still see their domestic hearths, they passed the Celydnus, arrived at Chendria, and prostrated themselves at the feet of the Vizier, who was expecting them in the midst of his satellites. There they entreated his pardon, and implored his mercy by all that is capable of affecting the heart of man. Ali appeared softened; tears moistened his cheek; he raised the suppliants, encouraged them, called them his brethren, his children; desired some whom he had formerly known to approach him; recalled to their recollection past battles, the times of their youth, and even the gambols of infancy. At length he dismissed them with apparent regret, desiring them to await his arrival in the enclosure of the khan near Valiare, as it was there he would determine their future destination. The wretched Gardikiotes, the victims of despair, retired surrounded by the tyrant's guards.

Two hours afterwards, Ali descended from Chendria in a palanquin, supported on the shoulders of his Valaques. Having gained the plain, he mounted his calash, ornamented with embroidered cushions and rich cachemires. Then, ordering his Tchoardars to follow him, he arrived at the khan full-gallop. Having rode round it, as if to examine if there were any issue for flight, he caused all the prisoners to pass in review before him one by one; he asked their age, family, and profession, and then separated them into two bodies: the greater he ordered to be conducted to a place of security, the other, amounting to six hundred and seventy, he sent into the court-yard of the khan, which forms an enclosed square.

Then, placing himself in front of his troops, and taking a carbine from the hand of a soldier, he cried out with a loud voice, "*Vras!*" (kill!)—but the Mahometans remained motionless, and a low murmur was heard throughout the ranks: some even threw down their arms. Ali was about to harangue them, when several voices called out simultaneously, that "Mahometans cannot steep their hands in the blood of their brethren." Ali then addressed himself to an auxiliary corps of Mir-dites, who served under his banners, and who were called the *black* battalion, from the colour of the short cloak which covered their head and shoulders. But these, also, refused to massacre

defenceless wretches:—"Restore to the Gardikiotes the arms you have taken from them," said the chiefs of the Mirdites to him; "let them march out into the open country to defend themselves, and, if they accept the challenge, you shall then see that we can serve you faithfully." Ali, foaming with rage, thought he was completely deserted, when Athanasia Vaïa, the most abandoned instrument of his crimes, said to him in a loud voice, "May the enemies of my lord perish! I offer him my arm." And, at the head of his Greek battalions, he rushed towards the walls of the khan, which enclosed his victims.

The wretched Gardikiotes, divided between hope and despair, no sooner saw the walls occupied by these brigands than they prepared for their fate. Upon the Vizier lifting his battle-axe, which was the signal, the massacre commenced by a general discharge of musquetry: this was followed by dreadful and long-continued shrieks. Soldiers placed at the foot of the walls kept handing up to the murderers loaded musquets, so as to keep up a running fire, in the intervals of which were heard the horrid groans of the dying. Here was seen the father writhing in agony on the expiring body of his child; the blood of youth was mingled with that of old age. Those who had as yet escaped the fatal ball, or were only slightly wounded, endeavoured to scale the walls, and were poniarded. Others, thinking to

escape the musquetry, fled into an apartment of the khan ; but the Greeks set fire to it, and the unfortunate fugitives perished in the flames. At length, after the carnage had continued about an hour and an half, the cries ceased, and all was silent.

After the massacre at Valiare, Ali repaired to the town of Gardiki, and gave orders for razing it to the ground. Gardiki resounded with the lamentations of the women and children torn from their native homes. Mothers who had lived in opulence, young maidens whom Hymen was about to bless with the objects of their tenderest affections, were delivered over to the brutal violence of the soldiery, and then dragged before the implacable Chaïnitza, who, after insulting them, haughtily commanded their veils to be torn away, and their hair to be cut off in her presence ; then treading it under foot, she accomplished the memorable threat in her letter, by ordering the cushions of her sofas to be stuffed with it. This done, she seated herself on her divan, and pronounced the following sentence, which was immediately repeated by the public criers. “Woe be to him who shall give food, raiment, or asylum to the matrons, daughters, and children of Gardiki! My lips condemn them to wander through the woods and mountains: and when worn out by fatigue and famine, to be devoured by the beasts of the forest!”

Thus anathematized, these wretched victims,

houseless and deserted, passed the rest of the day, and the whole night, exposed to all the inclemencies of the atmosphere, making the rocks of Libochobo resound with their lamentations. Some, seized with the pains of premature labour, perished, utterly deprived of help ; while others expired by the torments of famine, or the delirium of despair.

The remainder of this wretched population, wandering and houseless, would likewise have fallen victims to hunger and misery, had not Ali, less inhuman than his sister, revoked their sentence, by decreeing that the Gardikiotes should be sold as slaves, and dispersed in distant regions, and that all their possessions should be confiscated. But he confirmed his anathema against their town by an order which forbade them to rebuild on its site a single house, so long as his dynasty should reign over Epirus. Ali ever afterwards exulted in his barbarous revenge, as an act of justice and filial piety, and decreed that a marble tablet should transmit to posterity the accomplishment of his vow made over his mother's corpse. Thus, no traveller passing near the Valley of Drynopolis omits visiting the khan of Chendria, where he reads, in letters of gold, the number of dead deprived of sepulture, sacrificed to the manes of Khamco, with the dates of the year and month in which this atrocious massacre was perpetrated.

Ali, after having glutted his vengeance, took

the road to Tepelini ; where, on his arrival, he seized twelve Gardikiotes residing in that town : these he instantly put to death upon his mother's tomb. After having witnessed their execution, he retired to his palace, and ordered preparations for a grand fête. Indecent songs, lascivious dances, and every other incentive to impure desires, were resorted to for the purpose of making cruelty give way to lust. It was late ere he retired from this scene of iniquity ; but it was not to rest. Sleep fled his feverish eyelids ; and, as he lay restless amid all the torments of a guilty mind, the idea struck him that the hostages of Gardiki, imprisoned in the monastery of Sotiras, were, perhaps, enjoying that calm tranquillity denied himself. "*They are at rest,*" said he ; "*well, then, let it be for ever !*" He instantly awakened one of his secretaries, to whom he dictated their sentence of death : and such was his thirst for blood, that he included the Beys of Avlona in the fatal order. During the same night, which the absence of sleep allowed him to dedicate wholly to crime, Ali despatched a courier to his son Vely, requiring him to exterminate all the Gardikiotes attached to his service. The same orders were also sent to every town in which any of that unfortunate people resided. Vely Pacha incurred his father's severe anger for not executing his orders ; as did also Mehemet Ali, Pacha of Egypt, to whom Ali made the same request, and who returned a similar refusal.

Upon the Satrap's orders reaching Joannina, the massacre of the hostages commenced. Demir Dosti, with seventy other Beys, suffered under the hands of the executioners, who exhausted upon their victims the refinements of cruelty; the majority were then strangled, and a few had their heads struck off. Every day revealed to the affrighted inhabitants the horrors of that dreadful night. The lake threw up the dead bodies: headless trunks, half devoured by dogs, were found upon the public roads, and in many places near the lake were seen newly-made graves. The consternation throughout Joannina was general. People feared to speak in the streets; even salutations were avoided. The public bazars were deserted; the mosques and churches were abandoned; and numerous patrols paraded the streets. Suspicion hovered over every one. The inhabitants dared not keep in their fires after sunset. All confidence, even between the members of a family, was destroyed, for under a sanguinary despotism the very walls have an echo.

Upon his return from Tepelini, he caused Mustapha Pacha of Delvino to be strangled, having learnt, that although a prisoner, the Porte had conferred upon him the Sangiacat of that province. With similar audacity he replied to the order from the Grand Seignior, commanding him to *set Ibrahim Pacha of Berat at liberty*: by immediately casting that old man and his son

into the dungeons of the palace of the lake, called the Old Seraglio.

Great was the affliction of Ibrahim's two daughters upon hearing of this act of severity; but not all their tears could prevail upon their husbands, Mouctar and Vely, to intercede for their father-in-law. One man only, a dervise, dared to raise his voice and announce to the Satrap that retribution would sooner or later overtake him. The Cheik Jousouf⁽²⁾ was beloved by all the Mahometans for his virtues, and venerated for the austerity and purity of his manners. Regardless of the tyrant's power and cruelty, he entered his palace without even being announced. At sight of him the guards rose, the doors flew open, and the Satrap advanced from his sofa to meet him. Jousouf made him a sign to sit down, without, however, taking a seat by his side. Ali, in great agitation, intreated him to ascend the sofa: he was struck with the calmness of the dervise, and for once felt that irresistible ascendancy which virtue possesses over vice. The criminal was in the presence of his judge, who reproached him with the blood he had shed, his cruelty towards his own relatives, and more particularly with his severity towards Ibrahim, regarded by all the Mahometans as the most virtuous of the virtuous.—“Here,” continued he, “I cannot tread upon a carpet that is not wet with the tears of the unfortunate. That sofa on

which thou sittest is steeped in the blood of thy own brothers, murdered by thy mother in their infancy. These ataghans hung round thy walls are blunted by the skulls of the Souliotes and Acroceraunians. From this window I see the tomb of the virtuous, the murdered Emineh, murdered by thee. There is the fatal lake into which thou didst precipitate seventeen pure and innocent mothers,⁽³⁾ and which every day devours the victims of thy insatiate fury. That daughter of Belial, thy guilty sister, the encourager of thy crimes, has profaned our most sacred laws by stripping off the veils of the Gardikiotish women ! She tore,—thou shudderest,—she tore, reeking from the loins of one of her women, the unborn child, whose only crime was having a Gardikiothe for its father.⁽⁴⁾ Wretch, thou shalt hear the truth ! In and out of the city, amid the loftiest mountains, and in the deepest valleys, is heard the mention of thy crimes ; thou canst not take a single step without treading upon the grave of some being created after God's own image, whose days have been shortened at thy command. Thou art surrounded by pomp, luxury, and effeminate flatterers, the panders, nay, the objects, of thy unnatural vices ; and time, which marks all the children of Adam with the ineffaceable seal of old age, has not yet taught thee that thou art mortal, and must one day——” “ Stop, my father,” cried the Vizier, sobbing, “ thou hast

just pronounced the name of Emineh,⁽⁵⁾ do not overwhelm me with the weight of thy malediction." The cheik, without deigning a reply, quitted his apartments, and shaking the dust from off his feet, returned towards his cell, satisfied with having boldly done his duty, although he could not expect to have produced any change in Ali's heart. He was not deceived; after the first emotions of surprise and consternation had subsided, the Satrap relapsed into his usual vices.

In this year was celebrated the marriage of Vely's eldest daughter with Moustai Pacha, Vizier of Scodra. Jousouf, Bey of Dirbes, the Satrap's old enemy, came at the head of a squadron of eight hundred horse to escort his master's wife, but could not be prevailed upon to enter the town. Old Ibrahim was refused the consolation of seeing and blessing his grand-daughter, for the last time. Neither tears nor entreaties could move the inexorable Ali; and even young Aïsche herself had nearly incurred his dreaded resentment, from her anxiety to obtain this favour from him who had disposed of her hand and heart, without even asking her father and mother's consent. The nuptials were brilliant, but sorrowful, and the departure of the young bride was marked by the tears of her uncle Mouctar, who doubtless

anticipated the misfortunes with which she was menaced.

They soon arrived. Ali, who could find no opportunity of entrapping Jousouf, Bey of Dirbes, at length succeeded in destroying him by means of a firman enclosed in a cylindrical case, which he had filled with fulminating powder.—This secret, more destructive than even the Greek fire, had been communicated to him by a Genoese. As he had made use of a similar machine against Moustai, that vizier's mother seized this opportunity of accusing Aïsche of being engaged in a conspiracy against the life of her husband. Thus Vely's daughter, who was far advanced in pregnancy, paid with a spotless life for the crime of Ali, who felt more regret at having failed in his attempt, than at the sacrifice of his grand-daughter.

CHAPTER XI.

Ali conquers Threspotia.—His improvements in Joannina and throughout Albania.—Ancient tradition respecting Parga.—Description of Parga.—The Parghiotes place themselves under the protection of Venice.—The population.—The French take possession of Parga.—Ali's letter to the Parghiotes.—The Russians protect Parga.—Cession of the Ionian Islands by the Emperor Alexander to France.—Topographical details of Parga.—Character of its inhabitants.—The Parghiotish women.—Commerce.—Attack upon Parga by Ali.—He is defeated.—The English take possession of Parga.—Exile of the Acroceraunians.—Desolate appearance of Gardiki.—Cession of Parga to Ali by the British.

So many atrocities and crimes, combined with other motives, at length determined the Porte to declare against Ali Pacha, whose destruction was already resolved upon, when the issue of the campaign between France and Russia gave a new direction to the projects of the Divan.

Ali, who had retired to Argyro-Castron, was no sooner informed of the course of events, than he returned to Joannina with fresh projects of aggrandizement and power. Towards the close of spring, he completed his conquest of Threspotia, by the taking of Margariti; and, with the

sole exception of Parga, the possession of which he still coveted, he was absolute master of Epirus.

Then affecting to display all the splendour and power of a sovereign, the Vizier of Joannina constructed new roads, founded towns, built fortresses, and made throughout Epirus other improvements truly royal. Tepelini, the place of his birth, was already indebted to him for a spacious and magnificent seraglio, which he caused to be built upon the site of his father's house. During the short intervals of peace, he had several times shewn his taste, both for sumptuous edifices and for monuments of public utility; and at this period his political security allowed him a full opportunity of indulging his favourite predilections.

His court already presented a degree of splendour and magnificence exceeding what was generally found among European princes. His government was modelled after that of an European potentate.

Previously to undertaking the relation of the lamentable fate of Parga, it may not be considered irrelevant to give some description of that interesting promontory,

Ancient Parga (Παλαια Παργα), situated to the east of the modern town, existed a long time previously to the taking of Constantinople by the Turks. But when these barbarians, having

invaded the capital of the eastern empire, overran the provinces, inflicting upon them all the horrors of conquest, the priests of Parga, foreseeing that they would soon share the same fate, were desirous of inducing their countrymen to choose a last asylum near the sea, equally calculated for defence, or for facilitating their retreat to some hospitable shore, in case of successful attack. Ordinary considerations would have been found inadequate to prevail upon a whole people to abandon their paternal hearths: recourse was therefore had to supernatural interference. A goatherd discovered, in a cavern of Cape Chimerium, an image of the Blessed Virgin, which was transported with much pomp to Parga. But as, notwithstanding all the veneration and respect manifested by the inhabitants, the image returned to its cavern, without the intervention of human means, the people were prevailed upon to follow it; and it was around this miraculous Palladium, that the modern Parga arose. Thus Sinitza and Agia were deserted for a promontory by nature almost impregnable.

The Acropolis of Parga rises on the western extremity of Cape Chimerium, and gives its name to a canton of Epirus, which, though of small extent, preserved its liberty amidst the universal slavery of Greece, till the year 1819. Situated on a barren rock, about a mile in cir-

cumference, Parga is surrounded on three of its sides by the sea. The only entrance into this fortress is by an opening made in an angle of the rock which forms the neck of the Peninsula. The territory annexed to Parga, the only portion of Greece which now remained free, is surrounded on the side of Threspotia by the chain of Mount Penzovolos, or mountains of Epervier. This semicircle, resembling a theatre, of which Parga forms the proscenium, comprehends an extent of about fifteen miles, and extends in breadth about three miles from the sea to the Turkish frontier. The upper regions of the mountains present nothing but sterility and barrenness: at their centre some few tufts of trees are seen; but at their base groves of orange, lemon, and cedar-trees, diffuse around their fragrant odours, and descend into a picturesque valley, where they become grouped with the olive-trees, and form gardens and bowers for ever verdant, which extend to the suburbs of the town itself.

According to tradition, this land, at present in the highest degree of cultivation, presented but a melancholy solitude when the Parghiotes first established themselves there. It even remained in this condition for a considerable time; for scarcely had its new settlers established themselves in this extremity of Chimerian promontory, than their first care was to defend their liberty by force of arms. In their first wars

with the Turks, as the miraculous image seemed no longer interested in their favour when threatened by superior numbers, they had recourse to the protection of the Venetians, at that time masters of the Ionian Archipelago. In consequence of which, on the 21st March, 1401, the Republic of Venice received the oath of fidelity of the Parghiotes, and afterwards recognized them as its subjects on the 9th of August, 1447, under the archonship of Francisco Foscarini, Doge of Venice. Since that period, the Parghiotes, protected by the power which then wielded the vacillating sceptre of the seas, were in hostilities with the Turks as often as war broke out between the Porte and Venice. It was on this account that they began, in 1571, to fortify their town, the works of which were finished in 1575, at which time the Turks, on their side, erected the castle of Margariti. The Venetian government created twelve Patrician families at Parga, whose names are inscribed in the golden book; the rest of the population were divided into *proprietors*, forming thirty-six families, into *mariners*, *clergy*, and *foreigners*; these were all subjected to the authority of an *Ædile* or magistrate invested with sovereign authority.

Venice experienced considerable difficulty in managing the Albanians of Parga, who openly returned the contempt which that republic secretly entertained for them. The *Ædiles* were

harassed by every kind of subterfuge, demands, and claims. Upon the least movement of the Turks, the Parghiotes demanded provisions, which they afterwards sold to the enemies by whom they represented themselves as menaced; a circumstance the more ruinous to the state, as the Venetian chiefs had their share in these depredations. For this reason, being at length tired out with the continual repetition of the dangers and the wants of Parga, and anxious to relieve itself from so troublesome a tributary, the senate several times proposed to the inhabitants to give them the island of Antipaxos, or to cede to them lands in the isle of Corfu. Things were so situated, and the Venetian government had become superannuated, when the French appeared for the first time in the Ionian isles in 1797. Scarcely had their flag replaced that of St. Mark, when a new storm, formed in the East, announced the war of 1798, being the second military epoch of the Revolution. Owing to a due want of foresight, or a presumptuous reliance upon their good fortune, the French were defeated on the plains of Nicopolis, and Ali Pacha immediately directed his views towards Parga. "I announce to you,"—addressing the inhabitants,—"I announce to you the battle fought yesterday, which has just put me in possession of Preveza. I write to inform you of this, and to let you know that I am

not hostilely inclined against you. Only send two or three persons to confer with me, and submit yourselves to me as your Lord. In that case I will grant you whatever conditions you may ask ; but if you refuse this invitation, know that I declare war against you, and vengeance be on your heads !”

To this letter, and several other menacing declarations, mingled with seductive offers, the Parghiotes only returned evasive answers, and in the interim negotiated with, and obtained from, Admiral Oksacow, the protection of Russia, after having honourably sent off to Corfu the feeble French garrison, which Ali Pacha had vainly persuaded them to assassinate.

This conduct was highly gratifying to the Souliotes, who had not yet lost their independence ; nor was it less so to the Chamedis, to see Ali fail in an enterprise which, had it been successful, would have placed him in the very centre of their possessions. The Parghiotes, on their side, could flatter themselves with being associated with the confederation of the Ionian Isles, when, by a special treaty, their town, as well as Preveza, Vonizza, and Butrinto, were replaced under the government of a Vaivode nominated by the Porte. This event was as disagreeable to Ali as to the Parghiotes, for the former was irritated at seeing his prey thus escape from his fangs, while the latter were apprehensive of being one day op-

pressed by the enemies of Christianity. But the events of 1806 reversed this order of things. Before the declaration of war between Russia and the Ottoman Porte, Ali had taken Preveza, after driving out the Vaivode of the Grand Seignior. Upon this the Russians immediately took possession of Parga, which thus, for the second time, owed its safety to them. At length, in the course of the following year, the Emperor Alexander having yielded to France his rights upon Corfu and its dependencies, this latter power took upon itself the protection of the Ionian Isles, together with that of Parga.⁽¹⁾

A few topographical details of this celebrated spot may not be uninteresting in this place. On the east and west of the promontory are two small harbours, or coves, calculated only to receive the boats employed in the coasting trade of the Ionian Islands. The anchorage of the first is sheltered against the south winds by some large blocks of stone, with which a species of mole has been formed. Near these are seen the mills erected over the torrent of Zuco, and at the extremity of the roadstead the path leading to the town. The suburbs adjoining this are traversed by a causeway conducting to the fountain of St. Triphon, which supplies the wants of nearly four thousand individuals, and is now protected by a fort erected by the Russians. The citadel, of which we have already spoken, is built

on the sides of a rock, having the form of a truncated cone, at the top of which is the residence of the commander, the ascent being made by stone steps of very difficult access. From this Pharos is discovered, a vast extent of ocean. The view extends over Paxos and the coasts of Epirus, as far as Nicopolis. The second harbour also admits only small vessels: the approach to it is defended by a battery erected upon an isle, which the piety of the faithful has adorned with a church dedicated to the Holy Virgin of Analipsis. The eye traverses all the eastern coast, which embraces the cape and the road of Megali-Pagama; and the view extends as far as Port St. John, situated midway between Parga and Glykis.

The balmy and exhilarating air breathed by the Parghiotes gives them a freshness and health which distinguish them from the Ionians. The liberty which they have enjoyed under every protecting power has materially contributed to the developement of their physical faculties, and the ardent passions which animate them: corrupted by the government of Venice, they were cunning, mean, and avaricious; under the more liberal policy of the Russians and French, they resumed their natural disposition, they became men; and the only fault which can now, perhaps, be alleged against them is the severity with which they treat the female sex. In vain has nature

bestowed upon their women the charms of beauty and discretion; they have never been able to soften the character of the men, whom a too near contact with the Turks has not failed to imbue with some of their prejudices. Thus those wives, whose virtues sanctify the paternal hearth and constitute the union of families, know only the labours and the anxieties of life; modest, chaste, and industrious, their years are passed in bringing up boys who seldom repay their maternal tenderness, and rearing daughters destined, like themselves, to support the trials of a miserable existence with a patience and resignation worthy the reward reserved for innocence and virtue. The occupations of the common people are not laborious, and those who are called *Archontes*, the offspring of families whose names are inscribed in the *golden book*, and who are as idle as the patricians of Venice, would think themselves dishonoured by engaging in any other business than that of smoking and forming intrigues. The mariners are merely employed in the coasting trade, in gathering and pressing olives, and in the manufacturing of snuff. The landed proprietors export their oranges and lemons, and sell their citrons by commission to the Jews of Salona, by whom they are sent into Germany, and even Poland, where they are used in some part of the ceremony of the *Feast of the Tabernacle*.

Such was the situation and the population of Parga, which Ali now prepared to attack: for this purpose he ordered strong detachments of Albanian troops to march from the provinces to Joannina, where he reviewed them in person in a large enclosure adjoining to his great kiosk. There were no military evolutions performed, the review being confined to a roll-call. Soldiers who were in want of money with which to buy arms or equipments, or those to whom arrears of pay were due, were permitted to present their petitions, or to address their complaints *vivâ voce* to the Vizier, who was seated with his secretary by his side, having vast heaps of money before him. Amongst all this assemblage of different troops, the most remarkable were the Mirdites, the most warlike of all the Albanian tribes. They inhabit the borders of the Pachaship of Scodra, and can send ten thousand men into the field. Their language is full of Latin and Italian words: they wear the red shawl and the Tancredi vest, and profess the Roman Catholic religion.

Ali hastened his levies as much as possible. The events which marked the decline of Bonaparte's power, enabled him to foresee that the French would soon be compelled to abandon Albania; and that England, either by force of arms or by treaty, would remain mistress of the Ionian Archipelago.

From the heights of Joannina, the plain and the mountains might be seen covered with Albanian troops, all proceeding to the general rendezvous at Preveza. Ali himself set forward in his old German calash, escorted by five hundred Palikars, and followed by his household and Reine Vasiliki, the dear object of his affections, from whom he never separated. Upon his departure he conferred the duties of Vice Pacha, or Caï-macan, upon his son Mouctar, who daily assembled the Divan or Council, over which the venerable Mahomet Effendi was president. But these counsellors, or rather these puppets, could come to no decisions without receiving Ali's sanction. Tartars, or couriers, were therefore in constant requisition for keeping up the communication between the capital and Preveza. In the mean time the French Consul, who had witnessed the increasing energy of Ali, and the magnitude of his warlike preparations, penetrated his intentions, and resolved to brave every danger, that he might insure the safety of that Christian population, which France had protected during the last six years. Ali, who mistrusted the Consul, had secretly ordered Balouch-Bachi Tahir Abas to assassinate him, should he attempt to quit Joannina. Although subjected to the strictest *espionage*, the Consul succeeded in transmitting to Corfu, as well as to Parga, intelligence which put the French and the Parghiotes upon their

guard against an unexpected attack. Whilst, therefore, the Vizier advanced in the hope of surprising the town, or of finding it defenceless, its inhabitants were perfectly aware of his march and plans.

After taking Aja and Rapeza (two frontier villages dependent upon Parga) by storm, and erecting a small fort, Ali's lieutenants, Mouhardar and Omer Bey Brioni, advanced upon Parga. The Vizier had given orders, that, in the event of the city being taken, it should be delivered up to pillage, and all its inhabitants who were found in arms should be put to death, with the exception of some who were to be reserved for slavery.

The Parghiotes, full of confidence in the French garrison who occupied the citadel, took the field early in April, resolved to defend their country. They took up a position which gave them the advantage-ground, and afforded them the means of a retreat. Being vigorously attacked by the Vizier's troops, and charged by his cavalry in a narrow causeway which led to the town, after several discharges of musquetry they retreated into the lower town; their retreat being covered by seventy French grenadiers, commanded by Colonel Nicole. Scarcely had the Albanians, elated with their success, penetrated into this part of the town, than the French and Parghiotes fell upon them with the greatest

fury. The combat was not long ; being completely routed, the soldiers of Ali fled, leaving the streets filled with their dead and wounded. The bodies of one hundred and eleven Albanians, and four Bim Bachis or Chilarqui, attested their defeat.

All hope of taking the town, defended by a French garrison, and by a citadel well fortified and provisioned, was now abandoned ; and Ali's generals, covered with confusion, retreated with the greatest expedition. Ali, accompanied by the English Resident, had just arrived at Preveza, when the news reached him that his troops had been defeated, and had retreated to the lower town of Parga. Feeling that the prey which he had so long coveted was now wrested from him, he became frantic with rage, and rolled on his sofa, alternately crying like a child and roaring like a wild beast. "What !" cried he, "Parga, defended only by sixty Frenchmen, victorious !" After this paroxysm, he humbled himself so far as to clasp the knees of Mr. Foresti, while, bursting into tears, he intreated him to prevail upon the English to assist in a fresh attack against Parga, whose inhabitants it was his intention to put to the sword without mercy. Far from acceding to his wish, the English Resident, like a man of honour, arranged with General Campbell, that, in the event of Parga being evacuated by the French, the English troops should take

military occupation of it, and guarantee the political existence of the Parghiotes against the designs of Ali.

Having been informed of what was taking place at Parga, General Andreossi, the ambassador at Constantinople, fearing lest the French Consul might have been assassinated, as was reported, desired that the Divan would instantly despatch a Capidgi-Bachi, for the purpose of ascertaining whether M. Pouqueville was still in existence. These proofs of powerful protection put a stop to Ali's persecutions of the Consul, whose conduct had recently received a very flattering testimonial: the Ionian senate had passed a decree, voting him the unanimous thanks of that body.

Alarmed, however, at the vast disproportion of numbers between the besiegers and their defenders, the Parghiotes, notwithstanding their late victory, applied to our commanders, to be taken under the British protection. After some delay, a British officer was despatched to Paxos by General Campbell, there to hold a conference with Capt. Hoste of the *Bacchante*, and Capt. Black of the *Havannah*, and the Parghiote agents. —The result was, that *Parga should be taken under British protection*, provided that, in the first place, the inhabitants required it by written documents signed by their *archontes* or principal men; and secondly, that on the appearance of two English frigates, they should of their own accord strike

the French flag, and hoist the British Union. The deputies having agreed to these terms, a flag was procured, which having secreted about their persons, they returned to Parga. A meeting of the principal inhabitants was then called, to discuss the British proposals. One amongst them, an aged citizen, revered for his patriotic virtues and great experience, after having attentively heard the opinion of his fellow-countrymen, made the following argumentative and forcible speech.

“ Fellow Citizens,—The expulsion of the French appears to me to be so necessary, that I will not waste words in recommending it. But I exhort you well to consider, before you yield yourselves up to the English, that the King of England now has in his pay all the kings of Europe,—obtaining money for this purpose from his merchants; so that in that country the merchants and the king are but as one: whence, should it become advantageous to the merchants to sell you, in order to conciliate Ali, and obtain certain commercial advantages in his harbours, *the English will sell you to Ali*. If, however, you still persist in surrendering yourselves to England, beware how you confide in the promises of military men, whose trade, whatever may be their dignity, is but that of a servant; therefore, being taught only to obey, they seldom have wisdom to weigh their promises, and never have power to fulfil them,

as you do, because you are all free men. But go and present yourselves before their king. If he mean to be the master of this city, let him swear it upon the Gospel of Christ. Yet I would not entirely trust even him. For within these twenty years, Christian princes have openly turned their subjects and friends into merchandize, and have shown but little regard to the Gospel. But suppose you are once in the hand of England—you may be governed well, or you may be governed ill. But the *well* is uncertain; and if *ill*, you will have bereft yourselves of all remedy. The King of England has not that sword of justice in his hands, that he can, like Napoleon, Alexander, or the Sultan, decapitate the misgoverning Pachas of his distant provinces. On the contrary, his justice is feeble; because, being surrounded by contending parties, he is compelled to lean for support upon one party to-day, and to-morrow upon another, and yet to pay regard to all; while each party, in its turn, conceals as much as it can; defends, and often praises, the blunders of its partisans; so that a governor may treat you as slaves, and yet be fearless of punishment. Nor would you, O men of Parga,—I say *you*, because I hope soon to lay me down in the peace of God, and be buried by your hands in this church,—nor would you be able to obtain redress. This our city is small and poor, and simple and ignorant: whence then shall it have

power, how find money? and where the learned citizens, who, being sent to the king of England, might show him the truth? However, this Parga still possesses those arms which have, for so many generations, prevented a single armed Musulman from entering her walls. I say not this that you should be proud of the defeat which that butcher of the Christians lately sustained at your hands; for that victory came from God,—God who will not cease to protect you as heretofore, and who can do so because he is just, and because he is almighty: whilst the Russians and the French, just and unjust, powerful and weak by turns, have, as the fruit of their protection, exposed you to inconceivable perils, and kept you for several years in perpetual anxiety. These English, too, are but men: and may you not live to see them expelled from all countries which they have no longer money to pay, caged up in their island, and preying upon each other from want? Why then recur to foreign aid? Parga is sufficient both to nourish and to defend you. Ali cannot take her by land: he cannot blockade her by sea, by which your countrymen in the islands can always supply you with food, and which, in case of extremity, will always afford you an easy escape; though I, for my part, let the danger be ever so great, would never exhort you to go forth vagrants and beggars, with your wives and children, into a foreign land. Let us

all die here at home; and, when no way of safety remains for the city, set it on fire, that these infidels may only triumph over our ruined houses and mangled carcases. However, this danger cannot last long: forasmuch as Ali is now old, and his head is always under the sword of the Sultan, whose wrath, though it has so long slept, should it at length awake, no Turk will be able to escape. At all events, as long as you remain masters of your own city, so long will you be able to follow that line of conduct, which, under the mercy of God, circumstances may render fit. The infidels, indeed, may force you to give them battle, and reduce you to great extremity: yet you will slay many of them to appease the blessed souls of so many Christians slain by them. But, once garrisoned by strangers, you will be subject to the will of another; you will not be able to use good fortune, should it ever befall you; and you will for ever lose the right of defending your country, and even of burying yourselves beneath its ruins near your dear forefathers."

But this eloquence was unavailing, he was outvoted by numbers, and before the meeting broke up, the following explicit declaration was penned and addressed to the British commander.

"We, undersigned Primates of Parga, engage, on behalf of the population, that at the moment when the frigates of his Britannic Majesty shall

appear before our fortress, we will subject our country and territories to the protection of the invincible arms of Great Britain, and will plant on the walls of our fortress her glorious flag—it being the determination of our country to follow the fate of the Seven Islands, as we have always been under the same jurisdiction.—17th March, 1814.”

No sooner, then, did the Bacchante frigate appear off Parga, than the British flag was displayed. But, as it was not hoisted upon the ramparts, our officers expressed their dissatisfaction, and declared that if it were not unfurled upon the citadel, they would set sail and leave Parga to its fate. Decision and promptitude were now indispensable, for the French commander had threatened that any attempt to dislodge him would be followed by firing the magazines, and thus blowing up the town. A woman, under pretence of business with the commander, got admission into the citadel, having previously secreted a British flag about her person. The signal for attacking the garrison was then given by a boy, who, while crying vegetables, pronounced a Greek word, previously agreed upon, and a dark night having favoured the landing of the English, they advanced, and were immediately admitted into the town. The French soldiers were taken by surprise, and Colonel Nicole's first salutation upon being

awoke was the point of a bayonet against his breast. The warriors of the two rival nations were equally astonished—these at their own success, and those at a surprise which they still could scarcely think real. In a few minutes the English were masters of the place, and the British flag was triumphantly hoisted on the flag-staff of the citadel.

The French garrison were allowed an honourable capitulation; and on the 22nd March, Sir Charles Gordon landed with his detachment, sent off the French to Corfu, and took full possession of Parga in the name of his Britannic Majesty.

This event, which deferred the period of Ali Pacha's hopes, did not, however, appear to him unfavourable; as he imagined it would be much more easy for him to obtain Parga from England, than to wrest it from the hands of the French.

Upon his return to Joannina, the Vizier, always occupied with the thoughts of extending and strengthening his power, resolved to expatriate those tribes of Epirus whose fidelity he suspected, or who had provoked his anger. The Acroceraunians, whom he most mistrusted, were the chief objects of his vengeance. As they offered no resistance, Ali could find no pretence for their extermination; his only plan, therefore, was to expatriate them *en masse*. This unhappy people sent a deputation of its elders, to intreat that they might be permitted to die

in their native land, and Ali himself presided at a divan to hear their petition. All but the inexorable Ali were moved by their pathetic eloquence, for it was the eloquence of the heart: he alone stern and implacable, pronounced the fatal negative, and would not even allow them to remain till the spring. His troops marched amid their mountains, and drove off like so many cattle, men, women, and children, young and old, amidst all the inclemencies of a severe winter. Convoys and relays were every where in readiness for transporting the baggage, &c. as if it had been an emigration on the approach of an enemy. Peaceful husbandmen were driven from their paternal acres: mothers, young maidens, and children were torn from their domestic hearths; venerable old men, loaded with years and infirmities, were dragged along to be transported into Aidonia, near the rice-fields of the Acherusian marsh, where they had been promised huts and villages. Whilst these were thus quitting the tombs of their ancestors, part of the Christian population of Preveza, a town the peculiar object of Ali's hate, arrived from the south of Epirus; and whole tribes of Thessaly and Macedonia were transplanted, like so many herds of cattle, to repeople a country devastated and laid waste by the most vindictive of men.

Since the total destruction of Gardiki, no tribe, no Bey, no Aga, had dared to dispute the will of

Ali. The sight of this town, formerly so flourishing, now suddenly changed into a desert the solitude of which no earthly footstep ever disturbed, awakened in the mind mingled sensations of horror, pity, and indignation. At every step the eye was arrested by an immense heap of ruins; for the vengeance of its direful foe had not even spared the temples of his God. The silent and deserted streets, the deep solemnity of the thousand graves, and the speechless lamentations of this ill-fated town for its still worse-fated population, make the soul recoil with horror, when it reflects that this was the work of *man*. The desolation, wrought by the Vizier of Joannina, every where presented itself: the ruins of public and private edifices, prison-doors broken open, whole streets crumbled into dust or reduced to ashes—and for inhabitants, savage jackals, or dogs become almost wild, who, with mournful howlings, bemoaned their wretched masters, and seemed to implore the pity of man,—was all that now remained of the once flourishing, the once happy Gardiki.

Master of all its territory, Ali still found himself straitened. He united the forty villages of Zagori, as Tchiftliks, to his Viziership, for the purpose of forming an inheritance for his third son, Sely Bey. In vain did their chiefs implore, in vain did they represent that they had been proprietors from time immemorial; the principles of

justice were disregarded, and more than five thousand families, deprived of their just possessions, were attached to the glebe in quality of serfs. Ali, however, had before him a recent example of the fall of a great power which had made itself despotic.

The changes which took place in France, in 1814, having caused the suppression of the French consulate at Joannina, M. Pouqueville, being promoted to that of Patros, made his arrangements for passing into Peloponnesus. A few days before he took leave of Ali Pacha, he gave him a grand dinner: this entertainment, to which he had invited himself (probably in token of reconciliation), opened the Consul's doors to the inhabitants of Joannina, who for nine years had not dared to visit him, except in secret, or with the Vizier's permission: the Consul now received visits from the most distinguished individuals. He quitted Joannina on the 28th February, bearing with him the esteem and regrets of its inhabitants.

Ali Pacha, the ally of the English, having no longer any cause of contention with France, or of fear from Russia, who had just concluded a peace with the Ottoman Porte, without being either king or sovereign, reigned over a larger extent of country than Pyrrhus, or even Alexander himself, before he had conquered Asia Minor, and subdued Egypt and Persia. While at Preveza with

his court, two English officers informed him of Bonaparte's flight; but this, he foresaw, would not materially affect his political security, not having any direct influence upon Turkish affairs. All his conjectures were realizing, when, at the commencement of January 1816, he received the visit of a dethroned king,—a visit which he owed entirely to his celebrity. Gustavus Adolphus, desirous of going to the Morea, there to await the firmans which were to permit his visiting Jerusalem, touched first at Corfu, then at Preveza, whence he repaired to the court of Ali, to whom he presented the sabre which had belonged to Charles XII. He was received by Ali with all the respect due to his misfortunes, and the supreme rank he once enjoyed.

These latter years were the most tranquil of Ali's existence. Free from domestic and foreign war, he was now at liberty to strengthen his iron rule over the Albanians, by means of a government better organized than any in the East. He saw his power and his treasures daily increase, nor did he lose sight of Parga, the avowed object of his ambition.

The deference of the English for the tyrant of Epirus was unbounded. Without having been vanquished, without having struck a single blow in defence of their liberty, the Parghiotes found themselves compelled to submit to conditions as hostile to morality as to religion. The bloody

sacrifice was about to be consummated : Parga was to be given up to Ali.⁽²⁾

The line of policy which dictated this offensive measure was as follows. At the time when Parga, and the greater part of the Ionian Islands, thus fell into the hands of the English, the Congress of Vienna was assembled ; and their policy in 1814 being to strengthen Austria, in order to counterbalance both France and Russia, those places would doubtless have been included in the other provinces assigned to her. This arrangement was, however, entirely changed after the return of Napoleon, and the vast influence acquired by Russia subsequent to the battle of Waterloo.

It was now that Ali conceived hopes of accomplishing his wishes, and various manœuvres were practised by him for that purpose. Amongst others, he caused a memorial, to which the forged signatures of fifty Parghiotes were attached, to be presented to the Porte, praying that it would take Parga under its immediate protection. The forgery was, however, detected by General Campbell, and its object frustrated. But the pertinacity with which he renewed his intrigues was at length successful, and it was agreed that Parga should be ceded to him as a consideration for the Porte's acceding to the Convention of Paris, which placed the Ionian Isles under the protection of England. A Turkish agent in consequence pro-

ceeded to Joannina; where, being met by a British commissioner nominated by General Maitland, they drew up a treaty, the basis of which was, that such of the Parghiotes as preferred British protection should be permitted to leave their country, and should receive a valuable consideration for their property, to be paid out of Ali's treasury. Ali himself agreed to this arrangement; no doubt, with a mental reservation of only fulfilling such part of it as might be agreeable to himself.

At the very first intimation of this dreadful intelligence, which was communicated in the month of March 1818, the whole population of Parga repaired to the altar of the Virgin, the protectress of a town built under her auspices. Men, women, and children, young and old, mingling their voices with those of their pastors, with heavy sighs thus addressed the venerated image: "Oh Thou, who for so long hast been our protectress and guardian, desert not now thy chosen children! When abandoned by the whole Christian world, do thou deign to save us, and work a miracle in our behalf. Thy altars shall for ever smoke with incense, and our children's children, in ages yet to come, shall attest thy goodness and our gratitude!" After this prayer, every family repaired to their burial-place, and, opening the tombs, removed the bones of their ancestors. Thus bearing with them the remains of those whose

memory was so dear to them, the Parghiotes retired to their citadel with these sad relics, determined, if they were sacrificed, to bury themselves under its ruins.

They declared their rights, they demanded a guarantee, and, flattering themselves with the validity of their claims, they at first thought that a powerful protection (that of Russia) would be exerted in their favour. They were deceived: the decree was irrevocable.

In the mean time Mr. Cartwright, accompanied by Mr. Parish as commissary, arrived at Joannina, finally to arrange the treaty with Hamed Bey, ostensibly the Ottoman agent, but in reality a creature of Ali's. After considerable delays, it was at length agreed that Mr. Cartwright and Hamed Bey should proceed to Parga, in order to ascertain the number of those who wished to emigrate, and at the same time to take an estimate of their property.(3)

This arrangement being not in the least agreeable to Ali, on account of the required advance of money, he endeavoured by every means in his power to excite the Parghiotes to revolt against the English government, as by such conduct they would forfeit its protection. But all his attempts were fruitless: Preveza, Santa Maura, Söuli, and Gardiki, were examples too striking of what was to be expected from Ali, should he once hold within his revenge-

ful grasp those who had so long defied his power.

Agreeably to the convention entered into by Mr. Cartwright and Hamed Bey, the Parghiotes were assembled by proclamation, after which the commissary, with great formality, interrogated them successively, one by one, whether they preferred British protection to remaining the subjects of the Ottoman Porte. All, without exception, declared for the former; so great, indeed, was the horror which Ali inspired, that a man who had been born deaf and dumb, one Attanasio Clotzoni, (*) upon having the interrogatories explained to him, turned to the Turkish commissioner, and by gestures, perhaps the more energetic from his infirmities, expressed his refusal to be transferred to the government of the Pacha.

Fifteen duly qualified persons were appointed to value the property which had previously been classed and registered with the greatest care. Mr. Cartwright, upon his arrival, received the estimate, the total value of which amounted to no more than 500,000*l.*, a valuation which may indeed excite surprise, when we are told that there were 839 houses, and an immense number of olive trees—the value of the latter alone amounting to 200,000*l.*

At the request of Ali an English commissioner was again despatched to Parga, to confer once

more with the Turkish and Ionian agents; and again, in deference to the Pacha, were the inhabitants called upon to declare, whether, upon cession taking place, they would quit Parga, or receive Ali as their lord.⁽⁵⁾ But their determination (notwithstanding all the Satrap's intrigues) remained unshaken.

A fresh valuation was now ordered to be made; and, as the Turkish agent objected to churches, public buildings, and property belonging to corporate bodies being included, the estimate was suspended. The Parghiotes now drew up a strong remonstrance against the last valuation being proceeded in; this was despatched to Corfu: no attention, however, being paid to it, the British and Ottoman agents made their valuation separately; that by the former amounting to 276,087*l.* and that by the latter to 56,968*l.* The pecuniary arrangements were not, however, finally adjusted till after an interview which Gen. Maitland had with Ali, about the commencement of March 1818, when a proclamation ⁽⁶⁾ was issued, informing the inhabitants, that the valuation was definitively fixed at 150,000*l.* or 666,666 Spanish dollars, and that each individual would receive a ticket, entitling him to a share proportionate to the property he possessed. The great reduction in this estimate, when compared with the former one, is thus explained. Ali expressed his total inability to pay so large a sum. He, however,

offered to supply the English with a certain quantity of ship-timber from the woods of Albania, the amount of which was to be paid towards liquidating the demands of the Parghiotes. The report of the British agent sent to examine the timber being unfavourable, the idea was abandoned, and as no other alternative now remained than to accept Ali's own proposals, or abandon the arrangements *in toto*, the 150,000*l.* were accepted as a full indemnification.

On the 15th of March, Lieutenant-colonel Gubbins issued a proclamation informing the Parghiotes that the troops of Ali would enter the town previous to the inhabitants quitting it. It would be impossible to describe the feelings which swelled every heart even to bursting upon this intelligence. But vain was all their honest indignation; the measure was confirmed by Sir C. Maitland on the 9th of April. In his proclamation bearing that date, he stated that the means of transport would be furnished to all those who wished to depart; but that the Lord High Commissioner was desirous that no one would quit Parga till the conditions of the treaty had been fulfilled. A few days after, intelligence arrived that the Satrap's troops were advancing to occupy Parga. Despair seemed then to possess every bosom. Seizing their arms, the Parghiotes swore unanimously to bury themselves

beneath the ruins of their city, should the public enemy appear before the time appointed for the fatal emigration. The Parghiotes, disinterring from their place of rest the bones of their ancestors, and of families now extinct, placed them upon a funeral pile constructed with olive-trees, the produce of their paternal soil: with one accord they also resolved to destroy their wives and children, should the Mahometans contaminate with their hated presence a town which ought to be deserted ere they entered. An English officer was the bearer of this determination to General Maitland, the governor of Corfu; who at the same time declared to him, that, unless a stop were put to the march of Ali's troops, the noble example of Saguntum would be imitated in the face of all Christian Europe.

Major-general Sir F. Adam was immediately despatched to Parga. Upon entering the town, this officer, so much respected, was no longer saluted as formerly with loud acclamations. A dread silence, the precursor of carnage, every where prevailed. He found the noble descendants of ancient heroes standing armed at their doors awaiting the signal to massacre their families. Conjuring them still to defer the fatal stroke, he hastened to the Turkish troops, and succeeded in stopping the march of the Musulmans. Vessels of every description were then put

into requisition, the embarkation commenced, and, by the light of the funereal flame which was devouring the remains of their ancestors, they set sail from the Cape of Chimerium. The Vizier's forces were then admitted, and the fortress was finally delivered into Ali's possession on the 10th of May, 1819.

CHAPTER XII.

Ali's revenues.—His tribute to Constantinople.—His bribes.—Private treasure.—Revenues of his three sons.—Restitutions.—Anecdote of his extortion.—Military forces.—Pay of his troops.—Expenses of the campaign of 1807.—His artillery.—Cannon foundery.—Ali's character.—His falsehood and ambition.—His rapacity.—Anecdote.—His method of ensuring fidelity.—His brother Jousouf.—Ali's excellent memory exemplified by two instances.—Ali's dissimulation.—His manners.—Mode of receiving visitors.—Ali's good qualities.—His government and administration.—Anecdotes.—His Divan.

As Ali may now be considered to have attained the *acme* of his property, we shall here introduce some account of his revenues, resources, &c., and attempt a descriptive sketch of his strongly-marked character.

In addition to the vast sums which Ali had accumulated by confiscating the property of those whom ambition or cupidity prompted him to destroy, his annual revenue was also very considerable. For him alone the harvests ripened; for him alone the flocks resigned their fleecy loads, and the vine its golden clusters. His tribute to the Turkish government, which he paid regularly, amounted to about 80,000*l.*; nearly the same

sum was also annually expended in presents, bribes, &c. to the ministers of the divan. These deductions being made, his annual revenue may be computed at about 480,000*l.* sterling, out of which he had to pay his standing army, consisting of 7000 men. The amount of his private treasure, which was all in Venetian gold, has never been ascertained⁽¹⁾.

The revenues of the Satrap's three sons⁽²⁾, and their children, were estimated in 1817 at about 600,000*l.* sterling.

Ali obtained possession of all the precious stones which he could discover in the countries under his dominion. He possessed large collections of watches, valuable clocks, gold and silver vessels, and immense magazines of goods of every kind. All these stores were under his own care in subterraneous vaults, which nobody was allowed to enter but himself. His treasurer for the current expenses, which office was filled in 1807 by his nephew, was nothing more than a paymaster⁽³⁾, to whom he entrusted a chest of money, for the disbursement of which he must account before he received the key of another. A Jew house-steward collected the revenues of his own private possessions.

The Pacha kept no written accounts; his memory supplied their place: he very seldom made a mistake, and never against himself. His mode of reckoning introduced a new branch of revenue

which he called *Restitutions*. His son Mouctar, being at one time in want of 100,000 francs, applied to his father's Jew-steward to lend him this sum. The Jew refused, and Mouctar complained to his father. Upon which Ali sent for the Jew, and thus addressed him. "You have now been twenty years in my service, and upon a moderate calculation, must have robbed me annually of at least 5000 francs: pay me, therefore, instantly 100,000 francs." This order he accompanied by a threat, which insured a prompt obedience.

Ali's military forces were very numerous; but, as they did not form one whole and connected body of troops, they could not be subjected to uniform and regular discipline. The troops in which he placed the greatest confidence consisted of about 7000 men, raised by conscription from among his own vassals. The governors of the provinces subject to him were obliged, upon the first requisition, to furnish their contingents. Ali, in time of war, had also in his pay a considerable number of mercenaries. In 1807, he had 40,000 men under arms; of these 10,000 were in the Morea under his son Vely, 8,000 in Lepanto under Mouctar, and 10,000 under his brother Jousouf Bey; the rest were in garrison in different places.

The pay of the soldier varied according to his services, from fifteen to eight piastres

a month: upon an average it may, therefore, be reckoned at ten. The soldier provided his own arms and clothing, and Ali furnished ammunition and rations; the latter consisted of two pounds of maize-flour, and some vegetables. In the campaign of 1807, his army remained in the above mentioned force for ten months, and cost him, including the provisions, six millions of piastres, about 500,000*l.* sterling, exclusive of the subsidies paid by France.

His artillery consisted of about 200 pieces, distributed in the several fortresses of Albania and Epirus, but it was generally ill-furnished and worse served. We have already noticed Ali's military school at Bonila; where he had also a cannon foundry, but his avarice, which hindered him from furnishing the necessary materials, his rapine, which led him to plunder the director of his tools, and his despotic conduct in general, prevented the success of the undertaking. He was so unjust as to demand that a twenty-four pounder, weighing 5000 lbs. should be delivered to him quite complete, for an equal weight of metal which he supplied for that purpose. The French engineers, however, who visited him in 1807, improved this establishment so much, that it was able to furnish mortars as good as could be obtained from any foundry in Europe. Ali had also several powder-mills, but they were very defective in their construction.

We shall now proceed to consider Ali's character, of which falsehood and ambition were the principal elements. The latter was his predominant passion, the former had become indispensable and habitual to him; both, while they reciprocally promoted and nourished each other, developed vices which made him an object of horror and dread even to those who apparently enjoyed his confidence. The want of money, which severely distressed him at his first outset in public life, and which long retarded his advancement, together with the conviction, arising from experience, that at all times there were men to be found who might be bribed to the commission of every crime, caused avarice and covetous passions to take deep root in his nature: the word *give* was as foreign to his mouth, as any corresponding feeling was to his heart, and gold never issued from his coffers but when something was to be gained; rewards were never distributed, unless some person was to be seduced as the instrument of his crimes or the pander of his vices.

His rapacity extended to every thing, and to gratify it no pretext was too frivolous or mean. If a merchant arrived in his dominions with goods, he would send for him, examine his samples, affect fair dealing, and then purchase the articles at a price arbitrarily fixed by himself. If one of his vassals died, leaving a large property,

no expedient was disdained in order to obtain possession of it, either by open violence, or by a forged will of the deceased. "My son," said he one day to the son of a Greek lately deceased, "your father was a very respectable man, whose loss greatly affects me : we were intimate friends : he remembered me on his death-bed, and has bequeathed me his house, furniture, and gardens."—"But, my Lord," answered the youth, quite confounded, "these make more than two-thirds of my whole property!"—"My son," returned Ali, "you must hold your father's last will sacred ; and if you were so wicked as not to submit to it, I would have you hanged immediately."

Ali's insatiable ambition also made him distrustful and revengeful, and these two propensities had acquired, with his violent disposition, the character of savage passion. All about his person were the objects of his suspicion. His nephews, his children, those who were the most attached to him, and who appeared to enjoy his entire confidence, were equally the objects of his suspicious *surveillance*. With him the most solemn assurances of devotedness and fidelity were of no avail. Ancient and long services were no pledge for the future, in the estimation of a man who at all times changed his conduct as his interest required.

His mode of insuring the fidelity of those employed by him, was by hostages. His own sons

even were subjected to it. When they went to take possession of their governments, he detained their families, without even concealing the motive of this offensive persecution. The person most in his confidence was his natural brother Jousouf Pacha, the son of a black slave in his father's harem: this preference might be accounted for by Jousouf's unambitious character; by his boundless devotion and veneration for Ali; but particularly by his birth, which prevented him from claiming any rights. But even this favourite was kept in absolute dependence, remote from public affairs, and only employed as leader of the troops, for which post he was eminently qualified by his talents and personal courage.

Ali's revenge was implacable, nor could time or place set bounds to it; and the longer it was delayed, the more fatal were its effects. His authority, his power, his cunning, and his dissimulation, rendered its success infallible. His hatred increased with its duration; his retentive memory hindered him from forgetting any real or supposed offence, and none remained unpunished. Two instances may be adduced as an example. During a review of his troops, Ali recognized, in the ranks of a detachment of troops that was passing before him at 300 paces distance, an Albanian, who about twenty years before had grossly insulted him. He was arrested at the time, but had had the good fortune to escape from prison. After long roving about, in various

places, he enlisted among the troops of a bey, whom Ali had now taken into his service. No sooner did his eagle eye discover him, than he immediately ordered him to be cut down. On another occasion, as he was sitting in judgment according to his custom, a man who had just been taken was brought before him, and Ali immediately enumerated in his presence a great number of robberies committed by him during the space of fifteen years, stating exactly the time, and the names of the persons robbed.

Ali so completely possessed the art of dissimulation, that he who did not judge of his intentions exclusively according to what ambition and avarice might suggest, would infallibly be misled ; for he deceived, not merely by words and protestations, but by his dignity and the whole tenour of his behaviour. His exterior was agreeable, and he could impart to his mild and usually smiling features a seductive charm. His manners were polite, affable, and dignified. He was generally richly dressed. The most studied luxury prevailed throughout his palaces, and this, joined to his Asiatic effeminacy, would have induced the belief, that he was exclusively occupied with his buildings, rich furniture, and splendid ornaments. All this, however, was dissimulation : his real object was to engross the attention of those around him by these trifles, in order to divert it from more serious concerns.

When he pleased, his manner of receiving people was irresistibly pleasing. Frankness and probity appeared to beam upon his countenance, in which no trace even could be perceived of all the passions which warred within him. Suspicion, fear, hatred, and revenge, were veiled by the expression of pure joy and conscious innocence. With the appearance of moderation, obliging in conversation, dexterous in representing every thing in the light most advantageous to himself, clear and logical in his arguments, furnished with all the arts of eloquence, no one knew so well as he, how to make sophistry pass for sound and sterling reasoning. So profoundly versed was he in the art of dissembling, that even a person thoroughly acquainted with him would have been inclined, when in conversation together, to consider his mistrust as unjust and groundless.

There can be no doubt that this dissimulation cost him a considerable degree of effort. When unable to obtain his object; when he had vainly tried his usual arts, in order secretly to kindle discord, or to perpetuate hatred; to get the crimes necessary to him committed by the victims whom he had chosen as instruments; then he would break loose, and proceed directly to his purpose.

In cases where Ali was obliged to employ instruments to execute his secret purposes, he generally secured the silence of the latter by

their death. In this manner his dark plots and crimes were concealed from the great majority of his subjects by a bloody and impenetrable veil.

But, with all his odious vices, Ali possessed many splendid qualities, which would do honour to the greatest princes. A profound knowledge of the human heart preserved him from errors in the choice of his officers; and he was always correct in assigning each the post best calculated for his abilities. In business, his penetration gave him a clear insight into the bearings of every case, and he speedily perceived what was most proper to be done. He knew how to watch for opportunities, to prepare the way for them, and when they arrived, to take instant advantage of them. The courage and intrepidity which he displayed in his youth did not forsake him in maturer age. When danger presented itself, a calm resolution either enabled him to avoid it, or to meet it with firmness and decision. In the midst of a population who feared and mostly hated him, he seemed entirely regardless of his personal safety; and this apparent security contributed not a little to preserve him from all attempts at assassination. When he went out, he was generally attended by two pages, a confident, and two soldiers; the fear which his personal courage inspired, and the prevailing conviction that any enterprise directed against him must fail, account for the rare occurrence of plots against his life. In

those few which were undertaken, he was always found on his guard, and their unsuccessful issue necessarily deterred others from similar enterprises.

A few instances will possibly best exemplify the mode of administration. The governor of the little town of Metzovo was an unjust and covetous man, who, in order to enrich himself, oppressed the inhabitants. The latter had long petitioned Ali to deliver them from their governor. In one of his progresses, Ali came to Metzovo; the inhabitants assembled in crowds round the house where he was lodged, uttering loud cries. Upon hearing that they demanded the death of the governor of the town, he sent for the priests, and desired them to exhort the people not to load themselves with the sin of blood, which the death of their fellow-citizen would bring down upon them; but, as the crowd still persisted in their desire, he gave immediate order for the execution of the guilty governor, ordering the people to be told, "that they were answerable for the blood which was shed." To complete this hypocritical farce, he expressed to those about him, how happy he was that he was innocent of the death of this man, since he had been compelled to yield to the desire of the people. However, he did not delay to confiscate, for his own benefit, the whole property of the criminal.

Some years later he was informed that the superintendants of a canton of Zagora, under the pretence that they were ordered to raise a tax for him of 190,000 piastres, had extorted various sums; he summoned them before him, and made them restore all they had received; but at the same time he compelled them to pay him the 190,000 piastres out of their own pockets, ironically thanking them for having so well considered his interest; and, till the whole sum should be paid he ordered them to be put under arrest.

Ali Pacha's Divan consisted of the chief officers of his household, and other persons chosen by himself, from whom he expected useful services; but all the proceedings were mere formalities, since no member of the council would venture to express an opinion contrary to that of his master. In every department of the administration, he was his own minister: his prodigious memory enabled him to enter into the minutest details, and to regulate the most trifling things: though, according to Turkish custom, he committed nothing to writing, yet nothing escaped him, and none of his ordinances contradicted the preceding ones, unless, which very seldom happened, he had altered his opinion. His indefatigable activity enabled him to find time for every thing, so that no business was neglected. But he required the same activity from his officers and servants;

and his rigorous strictness in this respect caused an almost incredible rapidity in the executive measures of the government. In order to obtain the utmost that was possible, he was accustomed to require impossibilities; and, as every body knew that he tolerated no disobedience, and accepted no excuse whatever, fear produced wonders. His usual threat on delivering such commands was this: "*Do what I commanded, or the black serpent shall bite your eyes out.*" The oath of the Sultan, "By the beard of the Prophet!" was less to be dreaded than these terrible words, which were almost equivalent to a sentence of death.

In his dominions he had established a police, unknown in the rest of Turkey, the object of which was the maintenance of public security, and which did not spare even the professional robbers the *Kleftes*, Ali's ancient companions in arms: this police also penetrated into private houses, observed the conduct of individuals, and gave in reports on their actions, discourses, and views. It kept the strictest watch over the connexions of the Greeks with Constantinople and other places. Ali made himself acquainted with all letters sent from his dominions, without excepting the correspondence of the foreign ministers and agents accredited to him; he respected neither foreign couriers, nor those of his own sovereign; but was at all times ready to lay the

blame upon others, and to make a show of giving satisfaction, by hanging some poor devil who was languishing in his prisons. In the year 1807, he caused three couriers to be murdered (two of whom were French), upon whom, however, to his great vexation, he found only letters written in cypher. His agents, whom he had every where, and the correspondence of the Greeks in his service, informed him of all that was passing in Europe, and directed his conduct, as he had constantly in view to obtain a support out of Turkey.

The number of palaces which were the personal property of Ali was very great. Some he inherited from his second wife, a rich widow, whom he married to obtain possession of her large property. She was then shut up in his harem, where she lived but a very short time. The rest belonged chiefly to those whom he put to death, or compelled to fly; some, too, he built at his own expence. He was his own architect; and was always accustomed to choose the decorations and furniture of his apartments. Hence the strange mixture of magnificence and bad taste so conspicuous in all his palaces. Splendid saloons, where gold, velvet, and embroidery, covered the floor with lavish profusion, were approached by dark and narrow passages. The place of doors was supplied by Gobelin tapestry suspended on poles. Round the richest

saloons were numerous irregular apartments, destined for various purposes; part of them served as magazines for keeping the most motley collection of articles, the fruits of his extortion and robbery. In 1807, when he judged it necessary to have cannon cast, he delivered for that purpose six hundred weight of copper kitchen utensils from those magazines, the keys of which were in his own keeping. Whenever he received a stranger, or took him into his service, he looked out the linen, pots, and other furniture, which he intended for his use. The number of his women in the numerous harems was between five and six hundred. Besides these, he had many effeminate youths, whom he made his companions, and who were frequently promoted to his confidants, officers of his household, &c. &c.

Such were the resources, such the character and habits of Ali, who had now obtained the ardently-desired object of his wishes. But the wheel of his fortune had reached its greatest elevation, and although its revolution was not rapid, it was on the descent.

CHAPTER XIII.

Ali's dissatisfaction.—His prosperity.—His flatterers.—Policy of the Ottoman Porte.—Ali refuses to make himself an independent Prince.—Ismaël Pachó Bey is appointed Capidgi-Bachi.—Ali's fears.—History of Pachó Bey.—Ali violates his daughter-in-law.—Her death.—Ali's attempt against Pachó's life.—His numerous escapes.—Athanasia Vaia.—Pachó arrives at Constantinople.—Description of his person.—Demetrius Paleopulo.—His history.—Presents a memorial to the Divan.—Death of Paleopulo.—Disgrace of Vely.—Attempt to assassinate Pachó.—Declaration of war against Ali.—He is anathematized.—Ali's plan of defence.—Is declared *fermanly*.—Assembles a Divan.—Ali's proclamation.—Vely and Mouctar retreat to Joannina.—Ali's resources.—Offers the Greeks a charter.—Ali makes Joannina his centre of operations.—Appoints Omer Bey Brioni, his general-in-chief.—Arrival of Pachó before Joannina.

ALI was now in possession of Parga; and although this at one time had been the *ultimatum* of his wishes, he still was dissatisfied:—the thought that the inhabitants had escaped his vengeance by a timely flight was gall in his cup of happiness. Fresh prospects of ambition, also, now occupied his attention. The conquest of Middle Albania made him sigh after that of

Scodra, where he kept a faction in pay, by whom young Moustai Pacha was kept in continual alarm. His vengeance against the unfortunate Ibrahim of Berat, who with his son had been his prisoner for seven years, was also still incomplete, while they lingered out a wretched existence, of which he dared not deprive them lest his son Mouctar should lose the Sangiacat of Misache.⁽¹⁾ He was also indignant at seeing the Rumelie-Valisee established at Monastir. Thus his own intemperate passions were converted by an avenging Deity into the instruments of his downfall.

The continued favours of fortune should have warned the modern Polycrates of her instability. His successes ought to have alarmed him. No sooner had he remitted to the English agents the amount of the shameful sale of Parga, than he found his treasure quintupled by the forced contributions of his vassals, and the intrinsic value of the landed property of the Parghiotes, which was now transferred to him. His palace at Tepelini, which had been burnt down in 1818, had been rebuilt at the public expense, upon a more vast and magnificent scale. His sons and grandsons were all ennobled with high titles, and appointed to important offices; and although not one in reality, yet he might truly consider himself upon an equality with a sovereign in power and magnificence. Nor were flatterers

wanting. At Vienna a poem had been written in his praise: a coat of arms was *found* for him by one well skilled in heraldry; it consisted of a *Lion in a field Gules embracing three young Lions*, the emblem of his dynasty. A grammar of the French and Greek languages had also been dedicated to him, in which the titles of *high, puissant, and most merciful*, were lavishly bestowed upon him. The author thus expresses himself in his dedication: *The earth, most illustrious prince, is full of the glory of thy name; the bright and dazzling fame of thy noble virtues has reached every ear.*

The Ottoman Porte, apparently upon the best terms with Ali, had hitherto granted all the Satrap's demands, pretending to be unacquainted with his numerous perfidies. It affected the utmost security, although in possession of the proofs of Ali's intelligence with its enemies, especially during the last war, when it was compelled to subscribe to the treaty of Bukarest. It was the intrigues of the Satrap of Epirus which had then paralyzed the efforts of the Pachas of Upper Albania and Rumelia, who were apprehensive of losing their governments, should they march towards the Danube. The policy of the Porte was, therefore, to put up with a temporary evil, convinced that time itself would soon rid them of the most dangerous of its Viziers, whether considered with respect to his geographical position or his relations with foreign countries. It was

easily foreseen, that at his death the dissensions among his sons would replace under the Turkish sceptre this large portion of continental Greece, which might now be considered as detached from it.

The advanced age of the Vizier justified the anticipation of the speedy occurrence of an event, which it awaited with the utmost impatience, being eager to obtain possession of Ali's vast treasures. With the intention, therefore, of hastening his fall, creatures were placed about his person for the purpose of stimulating him to declare himself independent; but Ali refused the diadem, and, like Cæsar, repelled his imprudent friends, who for a long time had saluted him with the title of King. He had disdained to unfurl a particular standard, conceiving it inconsistent and ridiculous to risk losing solid advantages for vanities so futile. He often said, that, in wishing to be Viziers, his children would be his destruction; and when speaking of his own power, he frequently repeated this maxim: "A Vizier is a man covered with honours, seated on a barrel of gunpowder, which may be blown up by a spark."

The measure of his iniquities, however, was now full; and the first announcement of the termination of his prosperity was the intelligence that Ismaël Pacho Bey, after having escaped his snares, had been appointed Capidgi-Bachi by the Grand Seignior. This news was as a thunder-

bolt to Ali; and from that moment he never knew tranquillity. Unable to conceal his mortification, all who approached him were certain to hear his maledictions against Pacho, whose importance he raised by attributing to him the failure of his intrigues in the Divan: he saw him continually busied in crossing his designs, and sometimes he would exclaim: "*If Heaven would but grant me my youth again, I would poniard him even in the Divan itself.*"

In the year 1807, Ali had driven this Pacho Bey from his native town of Joannina, by forcing him to accept the office of Selictar or sword-bearer to his son Vely, who had just been appointed to the Sangiacat of the Morea.

In this situation he became his confident, and the instrument of those tyrannical and oppressive acts which rendered his administration so hateful to the Moraïtes. It was not long before he incurred Ali's resentment, who, having first proscribed him, confiscated his property. Stimulated by revenge, Pacho Bey endeavoured to sow discord between the father and son, by revealing to the latter that Ali had violated the honour of his nuptial couch.

The fact was but too true; although the unfortunate lady polluted by Ali's incestuous passion was still virtuous, for the monster had administered to his victim a soporific potion ere he perpetrated his atrocious crime; and it was only

by signs, which at other times had made her the happiest of women, that she knew the crime of which she was innocent. Obscure hints thrown out by her women, whom Ali had threatened with death if they betrayed his secret, at length informed her of the dreadful truth, that she was nourishing within her bosom the fruits of incest. How heart-rending must have been this conviction to a wife who idolized her husband, and who had already presented him with tender pledges of her sincere affection! In her despair she sent to the author of her misery, intreating that she might have an interview. Ali, who as head of his family possessed the exclusive right of entering his son's harem, immediately repaired thither. On his coming into the apartment, his daughter-in-law embraced his knees and conjured him to declare that her horrible suspicions were ill founded; Ali's only reply was an unblushing avowal of his criminality. Scarcely had the fatal confession escaped his lips, when the wretched victim of his lust drew forth a poniard, and plunging it in her bosom, fell lifeless at his feet. Ali immediately quitted the harem; and, that all witnesses of his atrocity might be removed, ordered the women who had been privy to his guilt to be thrown into the lake in the dead of the night. This order was executed by his black mutes. But a tyrant can never ensure secrecy, for all who surround

him are but so many spies upon his actions and conspirators against his authority. Pachó Bey was, therefore, soon informed of what had taken place between the Vizier Ali and his daughter-in-law. Alive only to his desire for revenge, he overstepped the sacred boundaries of honour, by revealing to Vely an event which was ever afterwards the torment of his existence. The latter, however, in a paroxysm of fury, thanked his indiscreet friend; and both of them swore to avenge themselves upon the author of their misfortunes.

Ali was not a man that would be anticipated in the career of guilt. Without stooping to justify himself, he declared the crime which was now openly imputed to him to be a false and calumnious invention; and without loss of time despatched seven well-mounted assassins, with express orders to murder Pachó as he was proceeding from his own house to Vely's palace. But Heaven, who had reserved Ismaël for an instrument of vengeance, defeated this attempt at assassination. Two only of these assassins escaped; and the others, being taken, were impaled alive.

Pachó Bey, persuaded of his insecurity, asked Vely's permission to quit a country in which he ran such great risks. His request was granted, and he immediately passed over into Negroponte.

After again narrowly avoiding assassination, he quitted this country disguised as a sailor, and travelled through the commercial sea-ports of Asia, and the different cities of Egypt. There, friendless, and without where to lay his head, he sheltered himself under the porticoes of the mosques, or lay among the beggars upon the warm ashes from the public baths. At length wearied with dragging on so miserable an existence, he presented himself at the Court of Mouhamet Ali, Nazir of Drama, one of the richest and most magnificent princes of Thrace. He had the good fortune to acquire his favour and protection. Ali Pacha, however, had traced him, and immediately procured a firman against him, the execution of which he entrusted to a Capidgi-Bachi. This officer, meeting Pachó (whose person was unknown to him) as he was returning from a hunting-party, requested he would inform him where he could see the Nazir, as he had a communication to make to him of great importance. Mouhamet Ali was at that time about a league's distance from the spot, and Pachó Bey, naturally suspicious, answered, "I am the Nazir; inform me what is your business." They then retired into a neighbouring khan, where the envoy of the Sultan informed him that he was the bearer of a firman obtained at the request of Ali Pacha of Joannina. "Ah! my dear friend Ali Tepelini, how can I serve him?"—"By the imme-

diate execution of the present firman, by which the Divan orders you to behead one Pacho Bey, who has been for some time in your service.”—“It shall be done; but I must inform you, that as it will be rather a difficult matter to seize him, we must proceed cautiously. I expect him here every moment; and, as the sight of you might awaken his suspicions, you had better repair to Drama, which is about two leagues from hence, and there await my coming. I will be with you in the evening, to announce the execution of the firman.” The Capidgi-Bachi immediately set off full speed to Drama, while Pacho proceeded with equal diligence the contrary road, fearful lest the Nazir, who had only known him a short time, should make no difficulty of obeying the Sultan’s order. After a night’s march, he assumed the dress of a Bulgarian monk, and after traversing Upper Macedonia, arrived at the gates of a large convent of Servian monks, situated near the sources of the Axios. He was there received as a brother who had just returned from visiting the holy sepulchre.

No sooner had Ali learnt the failure of his Capidgi-Bachi, than he accused Mouhamet Ali, before the Divan, of having favoured the escape of Pacho Bey. The imputation, however, was easily refuted; and, as in the progress of this inquiry, the innocence of Pacho became manifest, Ali could not procure another firman of death

against him. It was then that Athanasia Vaïa, having discovered Pacho's retreat, begged that he might be permitted to sacrifice him to Ali's vengeance. This request was granted; and the better to cover his design, the Vizier affected to be highly exasperated against Vaïa, and, to the astonishment of the whole town of Joannina, drove him from the palace, swearing that had he not been his foster-brother, he would have hanged him. Vaïa, pretending the deepest affliction, applied to every person of rank or influence to intercede for him with the Vizier; but the only favour that could be obtained for him was that he should instantly depart for Macedonia.

He immediately quitted Joannina, with every demonstration of the greatest despair, and set out for the place of his exile, assuming, as he represented, for the sake of security, the robe of a Caloyer. On his road he met with a brother of the convent of the Servians, and, after having related to him his pretended misfortunes, begged to be received into his convent. The brother immediately proceeded to make known his request to the Superior; and the latter lost no time in informing Pacho of the companion in misfortune who was about to arrive. By the description, Pacho recognized Athanasia Vaïa; and guessing the object of his mission, communicated his suspicions to the Prior, who consented not to admit the assassin till Pacho was far on the road to Con-

stantinople. It was there, in the capital of the empire, that he resolved openly to defy and combat his powerful enemy.

Possessing an elegant and commanding form, a physiognomy in which acute penetration was softened by an insinuating smile, and gifted with the valuable talent of speaking with propriety and elegance all the languages peculiar to the Turkish empire, Pachó Bey was not long in advancing himself in the favour of his Sultan.

Anxious to strengthen his party, he also sought out those of his ancient companions in arms who had been banished from Albania, amongst whom he met with one Demetrius Paleopulo, an Ætolian; and with this man he formed an intimacy, the consequences of which were afterwards so fatal to the fortunes of Ali.

Demetrius Paleopulo, the offspring of a Greek family of Ætolia, was, like Pachó Bey, one of the victims of Ali's tyranny. The child of misfortune, after the death of his father, which happened when he was but fourteen years old, he was compelled to expatriate himself, to avoid the persecutions of the enemies of his family; and, after wandering about from village to village, at length enlisted in the bands of the Armatolis, amongst whom his great courage soon procured him distinction. Struck with his abilities, Conavas, a noble Greek, prevailed upon him to quit the profession he had embraced, retained

him near his person, and at length, charmed with his virtues, gave him his only daughter, and obtained for him the post of Primate of Ætolia. These favours, so gratifying to the majority of the Ætolians, aroused the slumbering hatred of his enemies, who, by dint of intrigues, procured a firman of death against their new primate. As it generally happens in absolute governments, such sentences are null except they strike with the rapidity of lightning, Paleopulo having had previous intelligence of his intended fate, saved himself by flight; and entering once more the bands of Armatolis, his ancient brethren in arms, maintained a two years' war against the Vizier of Thesaly, at the conclusion of which the Porte reinstated him in its favour, and restored him to his former rank of Primate.

Having returned to Carpenitze, Paleopulo, deceived by the idea that Ali, who had offered him his services, might one day become the liberator of Greece, was induced to attach himself to his fortunes. The Primate of Ætolia was about the same age as Ali; their fathers had been united in the strictest bonds of friendship, and the sons bore a strong personal resemblance to each other. The same likeness did not, however, obtain in the qualities of the heart. The one was the greatest example of sincerity and courage; the other of duplicity and cowardice. Frequently, in the wars which at that time divided Albania, Ali,

previously to an attack, would desire Paleopulo to change clothes with him: a stratagem he often employed in order to escape the enemy.

The soldiers of Ali, accustomed always to see Paleopulo at the post of danger, manifested a regard for him which soon gave umbrage to the tyrant. He vainly endeavoured to dissemble, his envious disposition broke through all restraints; and Paleopulo, fearing the fate of his brother Canavos, who had just been assassinated, saved himself by a precipitate flight. He at first collected around him some bands of Armatolis, at the head of whom he defended himself so long as the mountains of Agrapha were inaccessible to Ali. After the submission of that country, his only retreat for ten years was the forests and caverns, from which he at length emerged, overcome with the infirmities of old age, and repaired by sea to Constantinople. Here, placed under the protection of the French Legation, he addressed to the Ottoman Porte an apology for his conduct, and a plan, showing, in all their details, the means of subduing the Vizier Ali.

This memorial, presented to the Divan about the close of 1812, had been the signal for the anger of the Porte, from which Ali only escaped by means of a fortuitous concurrence of unforeseen events, which had averted the storm ready to burst over him. United by interest,

and animated by a common hatred, Pacho Bey and Paleopulo reproduced the plan for the ruin of the Pacha's family. Pacho Bey guaranteed its success with his head; asserting, that, spite of the troops, the fortresses, and the resources of the Vizier, he would arrive before Joannina without lighting a match.

But this plan was not very agreeable to the ministers of the Grand Seignior, accustomed as they were to the presents and pensions of the modern Jugurtha. To so temporizing a cabinet it appeared more expedient patiently to await the inheritance of Ali's treasures, rather than accelerate the acquisition of them by open war.

Wearied out with these vain solicitations, Paleopulo was on the point of retiring into Russian Bessarabia, there to found a colony, when death with friendly hand put an end to all his troubles. Ere he resigned his last breath, the old Ætolian conjured Pacho Bey to persevere in his projects, assuring him that the house of Ali would soon be prostrate beneath his blows. "I regret," added he, in dying accents, "I regret that I cannot be with you on the Driscos; the report of my large gun⁽²⁾ would soon recall Paleopulo to Ali's recollection." Resolved to follow the advice of his friend, whose last words appeared to him prophetic, Pacho Bey desisted from all memorials and plans of reform, and exclusively confined himself secretly to under-

mine the influence of Ali, by becoming the champion of all who had any complaints against the administration of the Vizier of Joannina and his sons. He drew up their petitions, and got them presented to the ministers of the Porte, who were delighted to find fresh opportunities for *bleeding* the old Satrap, by promising to stifle the public cry for justice: all this, therefore, was ineffective. At length Pacho Bey succeeded in being personally recommended to the Grand Seignior, as a victim of Ali's tyranny. The Sultan wished to see him, took compassion on his misfortunes, and appointed him one of his Capidgi-Bachi, or chamberlains. Although this post was not now, as formerly, one of great importance, still the intelligence of such a promotion of Pacho Bey caused the greatest uneasiness and alarm to the modern Cacus, Ali Pacha. He immediately conceived what he had to fear from so formidable an enemy, who had now daily access to the Grand Seignior.

Ever since Thessaly had been cursed with having Vely for governor, that unfortunate province had suffered the most dreadful misfortunes. The prodigality of the Vizier exhausted the ordinary supplies, the taxes were increased five-fold, and such and so great were the exactions, that the Greeks, unable to support them, had emigrated in great numbers, some to Odessa, and others to Constantinople. The Sultan, informed by Pacho

Bey of the distress of Thessaly, punished Vely Pacha by nominating him to the obscure post of Lepanto. By this blow, which struck the most powerful of his sons, the enemies of Ali were now convinced that the father was not invulnerable.

Ali, assured that, so long as Pacho Bey had access to the Grand Seignior, his interests must decline, resolved to terrify the Divan by one of those bold and decisive strokes, the success of which had hitherto always fulfilled his expectations. He easily found amongst his Albanians two Sicares willing to execute whatever he might command : these he despatched to Constantinople with orders to assassinate Pacho Bey. Having arrived at the capital of the Turkish empire, they proceeded to Pacho Bey's residence, and having desired to speak with him, the moment he appeared at the window they discharged their pistols at him. The balls whistled about his ears, but only wounded him slightly. The assassins immediately betook themselves to flight by the Adrianople road ; but, a well-mounted detachment being sent in pursuit, one of them was taken. At first he refused to own any thing ; but, being put to the torture, at length confessed that he and his companion had been paid by Ali Pacha to assassinate Pacho Bey. The assassin was then hung up, in front even of the imperial seraglio. ⁽³⁾

But the death of this wretch, far from allaying

the inquietude of the Sultan and his ministers, convinced them that henceforth the public safety would be compromised so long as Ali had at his command Seïdes who would brave death to accomplish his wishes. The indignant Sultan wished at first to let fall the whole weight of his vengeance upon Ali; but he was persuaded to adopt a more prudent course. He appointed new governors to a great number of military positions bordering upon Albania, more especially to those which commanded the principal defiles, which till then had been exclusively filled by Ali's creatures. At length his destruction was determined upon in a secret council; and the sentence of *fermanly*, or of the imperial proscription, was pronounced against him, and ratified by a fetfa of the Mufti. Its tenor was as follows;—“That Ali Pacha, accused of high treason, and who at different periods had received pardon of his delinquencies and felonies, should be placed under the ban of the Empire, as a *relapse*, if he did not present himself within forty days *at the golden threshold of the gate of felicity*, to plead in justification.” At the same time his *capitchoardars*, couriers, and all his agents were put in irons. Shortly afterwards intelligence arrived at Joannina, of the religious anathema hurled against Ali Tepelini, commencing with these words taken from the Alcoran. “*Our ears are stopped, we are too far off to hear what thou sayest :*

follow thy laws, and we will follow ours. It concluded with this imprecation from the same work ; Now is the day of misfortune for the wicked ; we will blow against him an impetuous wind in a fatal day, we will strike down men like the uprooted palm trees, because they have killed the Camel of Salhe ! we have cursed them upon the earth, and at the day of the resurrection they shall be abominable to all the universe.

Ali Pacha, who in his prosperity had boasted *that he had never feared God*, was struck with terror at the determination of the Porte. Trusting, however, to his accustomed good fortune, he had recourse to the most formal supplication and denials. He accused his enemies of having conspired his ruin, and deceived the piety of the Grand Seignior. But neither his gold, though distributed with no sparing hand, nor the most urgent entreaties to be restored to favour, could avail him aught : the Sultan declared, that whoever should dare to speak to him in favour of Ali should lose his head.

His determination being fixed, a squadron was immediately fitted out, which, after the feast of *Rhamazan*, was to convey land-troops to the coast of Epirus. At the same time all the chiefs of Rumelia received orders to hold themselves in readiness to march at the commencement of spring, with the Spais and Timariotes of their different governments : a similar order was sent

to the Rumilie-Valisee, as well as to Moustäi Pacha of Scodra; to Pehlevan-Baba, Pacha of Roustouk; and to Mouhamet Ali Pacha, Nazir of Thrace, whose daughter Pacho Bey had recently married. These last were ordered to assemble the contingents of Transaxian Macedonia. And, finally, it was decreed that Pacho Bey, designated Pacha of Joannina and Delvino by the right of *Arpalich*, or conquest, should take the chief command of the expedition directed against Ali Pacha.

The attempt to assassinate Ali Bey had been made at the commencement of February; and the month of March had now almost passed away, without a single soldier having been encamped in order to march into Albania. A complete change might still be effected in the measures of a government so subject to vicissitudes and revolts. Besides, the Sultan wished to make war without having to defray the expenses of it. Ali with his treasures might easily have bribed some of the Pachas, or of the great vassals, who were to march at their own expense against the Vizier, in whose ruin they had not all an equal interest. But he preferred the counsels of bold and enterprising men, who were anxious to execute the plans suggested at a different period by some English officers, which, however, were founded upon erroneous data of Ali's resources. They were as follows: to establish a camp near Caraveria, to occupy

Tempe, seize Thermopylæ, entrust to the Vizier's three sons different corps stationed at these different points: in case of a reverse, to fall back upon Epirus, to maintain a strong garrison at Beru, in order to secure tranquillity in Higher Albania, and to keep the head-quarters at Joannina, for the purpose of defending the line of fortresses. Such was the plan proposed to Ali by those of his adherents who were anxious that he should act on the offensive. Considering it too colossal, he subjected it to some modifications.

Being declared *fermanly*, and summoned to surrender himself at Constantinople, to have appeared there would have been certain destruction. Ali, consequently, found himself in the forced situation of those rebels who, without any means of effecting a change in the government, are reduced to defend their own existence. Unable also any longer to trust to Mahometans, whom religious scruples attached to the cause of the Grand Seignior, he foresaw that the Turks of Larissa would declare against him, nor could he even calculate upon the fidelity of those of Epirus. Under these circumstances, he had recourse to the Christians of Armatolis, whose troops he could easily re-assemble by the tempting bait of booty and liberal pay. By this means he could organize a *guerilla* warfare, the better directed in as much as it would have Joaninna as a central point.

The different tribes of Northern Greece appeared to be still more devoted to him. At the least intimation of his wishes, the Archbishops, Bishops, Pachas, Cadis, and Aiens, still repaired to his court. All, upon the announcement of the danger which threatened him, seemingly redoubled their attachment to his person. He was weak enough to fancy himself beloved by his *people*—an expression which he substituted in conversation for that of *vassals* and *raias*.

In the mean time, unwilling to trust too much to the chances of war, and, in fact, desirous of being reconciled to the Grand Seignior, he applied to his old friends the English. Having repaired to Preveza, he held a conference with one of their Generals, who was a protector of the Sept-insular Republic; but his endeavour to obtain the mediation of the English was unsuccessful. They, however, consented to sell him arms and warlike stores, and even held out some hopes that they might perhaps succeed in preventing the Turkish squadron from appearing in the strait of Corfu. Ali, without being either dissatisfied or contented with the result of his application, retook the road to Joannina, where he had scarcely arrived before he occupied himself in re-organizing the Armatolis. They appeared at his first summons. Ali, delighted at their zeal, appointed some of his most faithful officers to command them, giving them orders to disperse themselves

without delay in the mountains of Thessaly. The *Armatolis* were not dilatory in taking the different posts assigned them; and their depredations were such, that at any other time the Porte would have been compelled to arrange matters amicably with Ali. The couriers were plundered of their despatches, the caravans were intercepted, the taxes ceased to be paid, and the public clamour at length reached the Sultan; but the manœuvre was justly appreciated. In vain did the primates of the Cantons represent that Ali alone was capable of repressing these disorders:—the stratagem did not take. The reply to the petitions was, that they could soon put an end to their troubles, by engaging the *Kleptes* to turn their arms against Ali. Proclamations were industriously distributed, calling upon the Epirotes to detach themselves from the cause of a man who was about to inflict upon their country all the horrors of war. Ali, who had foreseen that such attempts would be made, ordered his troops who occupied the defiles to kill without hesitation all bearers of despatches who had not an order signed by his own hand; and to forward to Joannina all travellers who might endeavour to penetrate into Epirus. Determined at length openly to raise the standard of revolt, he gave the Greeks to understand that he was about to embrace Christianity, while to the needy Turks he promised a share in the con-

fiscation of the property belonging to the Agas; then, **convoking** what he called a Grand Divan to assemble about the beginning of May at the Castle of the Lake, he summoned the attendance of the principal Turkish and Christian chiefs, whose astonishment at thus meeting together was extreme. He opened the Divan by a speech, in which he strove to justify his government and conduct, boasted of the protection which he had granted the Greeks, and declared that he wished to assemble them all under his banners, that they might exterminate the Turks, their common enemies.

The speech of Ali, who opened and closed his parliament on one and the same day, was not followed by the unanimous acclamations of a people determined to defend a prince and institutions dear to them. The archbishops, and other ministers of religion, only replied by raising their eyes, bathed in tears, to Heaven. A slight murmur of applause was heard, and the assembly was about to depart, when the chief of the Mir-dites, speaking in the name of the Latin Schyptars, declared to the tyrant that neither he nor his countrymen would serve against the majesty of their Sultan. His voice was, however, drowned in the vociferations of some needy adventurers, who made the hall re-echo with cries of "*Long live Ali Pacha! Long live the restorer of Liberty!*"

The next day, May 24, appeared the procla-

mation or circular, which he had announced in the Grand Divan. It was conceived in these terms :

“ Happiness be with you! *I, Ali Tepelini*, salute you, my Christian brethren. I make known unto you, that having need of soldiers, you will do me a pleasure by raising (here is specified the number of each contingent). For this service your usual tribute shall be remitted. Let your contingents march forthwith to Joannina, that they may be employed as occasion may require. Rely upon me as your firm friend. Farewell.”

Not confining himself to re-organizing the Armatolis, Ali despatched secret emissaries to the Montenegrins and Servians to engage them to revolt. His troops had already obtained some successes near Vardar, and he was in intelligence with the new Pacha of Larissa. His enemies nowhere made their appearance, and the number of his soldiers daily increased. Elated with hope, he appeared animated with fresh courage; and being informed that Pacho Bey had boasted of arriving before Joannina without burning a single match, he was so far blinded as to say, “ that henceforth he would not treat with the Grand Seignior till the Albanian army was encamped at Daoud Pacha,” a small town about eight leagues from Constantinople.

Time, however, crept on, and the Divan yet

vacillated, till at length, roused by the instances of the Grand Seignior himself, and stimulated by the temptation offered by the vast treasures of the proscribed Vizier, it commenced the necessary preparations for war. The Pacha of Larissa, who was already suspected, was replaced by Drama Mouhamet Ali, father-in-law to Pacho Bey.

Couriers after couriers were despatched to hasten the junction of the contingents of Rume-lia ; a squadron was immediately equipped for sea ; and lastly, the army of Drama Mouhamet, which was directed against Ali Pacha, came to encamp in the plains of Philippi, where it received considerable reinforcements. The new Pacha made his entry into Larissa amid the acclamations of the Janizaries, who had reorganized themselves since the departure of Vely Pacha. Scarcely had Drama Mouhamet entered upon his new appointment, when he received the submission of a part of the Armatolis : a defection which obliged Ali to draw in the advanced posts which he had established at Chalista, Florina, and Castoria ; these towns, as well as the Canloniates, had ranged themselves under the banners of the Rumilie-Valisee. Thus the Vizier of Joannina, ere a blow was struck, lost Cisaxian Macedonia, and Thessaly, as far as the defile of Gomphi, where Drama Mouhamet awaited the arrival of Ismaël Pacho Bey, conformably to the plan of campaign determined upon in the Divan.

The army also of Baba Pacha, which had been expected, now appeared at the entrance of Tempe, followed by the Kersales and other tribes of Mount Hemus. Invited by the inhabitants of Livadia, who had driven away the Vizier's troops, Baba Pacha marched upon Lepanto. At his approach, Vely Pacha sent by sea his harem and all his moveables to Preveza, and abandoned Lepanto: he himself took the road to Joannina. The report which he made to his father spoke only of present misfortunes, and of fear for the future: he did not conceal from him that the Turks wavered in their fidelity towards his family. Ali immediately disarmed all those who were in Preveza and Arta, and required hostages from the greater part of the Beys.

Mouctar, who had just returned from inspecting the Pachaship of Berat, entered Joannina nearly about the same time as his brother. He was much more sanguine than his brother as to the chance of success. This contradiction in the reports of the two brothers considerably increased Ali's embarrassment as to the line of conduct he should adopt towards the Mahometans. Could he have depended upon his troops, his situation was by no means embarrassing. All his castles and fortresses, to the number of twenty-five, had been put into a complete state of defence. His artillery amounted to sixty-two mortars and four hundred pieces of cannon, chiefly brass, and

mounted as heavy guns. In his Castle of the Lake he had his field-pieces, with sixty mountain guns, and a considerable quantity of Congreve rockets. He was amply supplied with warlike stores ; and in addition to all this, he had established a line of signals from Preveza to Joannina, in order to be more speedily informed of the movements of the Turkish squadron.

The more the danger increased, the more did the public enthusiasm manifest itself in favour of Ali, by protestations of fidelity, as false as they were dishonourable ; for the Turks, as well as Christians, without previous communication or concert, gave a fresh example of the dissimulation of a people fatigued and worn out with tyranny. Ali, thus deceived, never quitted his palace but amid public acclamations. He was seen at all hours, and in all places where his presence was necessary ; at one time on horseback, at another carried in a litter, and sometimes seated on a bastion in the midst of the batteries, conversing with the workmen or with the soldiers, whom he daily inspected, and who emulated each other in the wish of gaining his approbation. So great was his ardour, that his physical strength seemed to triumph over the weight of years. Not only did he thus endeavour to excite the zeal and emulation, and rouse the courage of his adherents by his conversation and harangues ; but he also judged it expedient to accommodate himself to

the general impulse of the age, and to the views of the numerous political intriguers who had repaired to his court. He announced his intention of granting a *charter* to the Epirotes. "A charter!" said the Turks to each other; "have we not our Koran? What! does the wretch mean, then, to alter the laws of the Prophet?" The Albanians were anxious to know if a charter would increase their pay. The Greeks alone cried out, while they laughed at the same time, "A charter! give us a charter!" Ali promised every thing; and his agent Colovo was instructed to pass over to Corfu, there to collect the elements of a political code for the use of the vassals of Epirus. He was accompanied in this mission by Constantine Monovarda, a rich merchant of Joannina, who had hitherto been a perfect stranger to Ali's intrigues. Under cover of this mission, it is said that the two envoys of the rebel Satrap conveyed over to Corfu, as a place of security, a great part of their master's treasures. They then, merely for form's sake, set about compiling the charter: no very difficult task among the inhabitants of Corfu, who, during the last twenty years, had been successively gratified by the different prevailing powers with dozens of constitutions.

The envoys of Ali were fulfilling the object of their mission, when intelligence was received at Corfu of the arrival of a Turkish squadron in the Ionian Sea. They immediately hastened to cross

the strait, in order to reach Epirus; but, upon their landing, were instantly seized by the Tziamides, who, upon the appearance of the Turkish squadron, had immediately revolted. Being taken on board the Turkish admiral, Colovo, who was recognized as being one of the confidants of the proscribed Vizier, was put in irons, and afterwards subjected to the torture. In the mean time Ismaël Pacho Bey had just taken the field; he arrived upon the Vardar about the end of July, and no sooner was his war-cry raised, than the Dgedges and the Toskides took up arms against Ali Pacha. The warlike inhabitants of the mountains also, and the bards, who still celebrated the deeds of Scanderbeg, hastened to swell the ranks of Moustai Pacha.

Moustai having assembled all his hordes and unfurled his standard, passed the Drin, and was reinforced by a body of Mirdites; and having seized Durazzo, took possession of the whole of Upper Albania, which he delivered from a swarm of Ali's adherents. Already reduced to the defensive on the side of Thessaly and Macedonia, at the first news of the defection of Upper Albania, Ali contented himself with despatching his son Mouctar to take the government of Berat. He placed under his orders Sely Pacha, who was entrusted with the defence of Premiti, and with the care of covering the defiles of Pyrrhus as far as Cleï-soura. To Vely was given the command of Pre-

veza, which his father had embellished with seraglios, and fortified by strong military works. The defence of Tepelini was confided to Hustein Pacha, Mouctar's son. Tahir Abas, the old Satrap's minister of police, was appointed to guard Souli; part of Ali's treasures being concealed in a fort which Ali had recently erected there.

These dispositions having been made, Ali reserved for himself the defence of Joannina, the centre of his operations. There he hoped that by dint of intrigues and money, and favoured by time and circumstances, he might still preserve his head. Having but little reliance upon his troops in general, which consisted of fifteen thousand chosen men, he appointed Omer Bey Brioni their Seraskier, nominating as his lieutenants Mantho, one of his secretaries, and Alexis Noutza, Primate of Zagori. The army had orders to hold itself in readiness to occupy the defiles of Pindus, which, from the advance of the Turks, had now become the frontiers of Ali's territory.

In the interval young Moustai Pacha, who had advanced upon the Genusus, and at whose approach Avlona and Berat had opened their gates, received intelligence from Scodra that the Montenegrins had penetrated into his Pachaship. This diversion, which endangered the safety of his states, he attributed to Ali; and thinking himself disengaged from the Porte, he marched

rapidly towards Scodra. Upon the arrival of Mouctar Pacha at Berat, he learnt that the Dgedges had quitted the shores of the Apsus: he immediately occupied Elbassan and Croïa, informing his father at the same time of the retreat of Moustai Pacha. All was now congratulation at Joannina. Pacho Bey, encamped between Halaiconon and the Vardar, did not advance; and the Turkish squadron, which had appeared in the Ionian sea, had sailed for the Morea. The storm now appeared to be clearing off: Epirus seemed to revive again.

The levies raised by Ismaël Pacho Bey consisted of different hordes, amounting at the most to only twenty thousand men, and commanded by six Pachas, who had all marched into the field much against their inclinations. After having marched through Thessaly, he made his entry into Larissa at the moment when Moustai Pacha returned to Scodra. To fill up the chasm occasioned by his defection, Pacho Bey ordered the Rumilie-Valisee to march upon Berat through the defiles of the Cantavian mountains. At the same time he despatched a courier to Baba Pacha, stationed at Salona, to urge him to recommence his offensive operations. Baba Pacha immediately began his march, took possession of Lepanto, Missolongui, and, without striking a blow, entered Vonitza. His only anxiety now was to

assist in the siege of Preveza, to defend which Vely had made the greatest preparations.

Whilst Baba Pacha was thus following up his successes, the Turkish squadron reappeared upon the Acroceraunian coasts. The Captain Bey having seized the port of Panormo, cast anchor there with his squadron, that he might rally the different tribes under the standard of the Crescent. Reinforced by a large body of insurgents, he took the fort Santi-Quaranta, the Castle of Delvino, Saint Basile, and Butrinto, and cast anchor in the mouth of the Thyamis. There he concerted measures with the Tziamides for attacking Parga, the defence of which had been entrusted to Mehemet Pacha, the son of Vely. The naval armament appeared before Parga at the moment when the land-troops had commenced fighting near the fountain of Saint Tryphon. After a few broadsides, young Mehemet Pacha, accompanied by about thirty of his followers, descended from the citadel, embarked on board a felucca, and sailed towards the Captain Bey, to whom he surrendered at discretion. At this intelligence, the aged Ali tore his garments, and imprecated curses on the children of his race.

Already his son Vely was blocked up in Preveza, where, after having burnt the magnificent seraglio erected by his father, he only found

refuge in the citadel. Whilst these events were passing in the south of Epirus, Mouctar Bey, who had considered himself as having undisturbed possession of Berat, learnt the defection of the inhabitants of Canina, Avlona, and the northern part of the Chimera. Having but little reliance upon the fidelity of the Toskides, he hastened to abandon Berat, and to shut himself up in the citadel of Argyro-Castron.

Notwithstanding these reverses, Ali hoped to preserve at least his natural boundaries, which were the mountains of Pindus. His seraskier, Omer Bey Brioni, had established his headquarters upon the plain of the Lingos, so that he might be able at the same time to defend the defiles of Macedonia and the passes of Pindus. Having under his command experienced troops, well paid and well armed, and being defended by formidable intrenchments, the chances of war were still in Ali's favour.

But Pacho Bey, abandoning for the present the pass of Zigori, threw himself suddenly into the defiles of Anovlachia. The defile of Cosnari might yet, however, be defended against him; but the secretary Mantho, instead of marching to oppose him, passed over to his standard, at the same time informing Omer Bey Brioni of his defection. Brioni immediately quitted his camp, and marched with his division to join Pacho Bey, whom he found encamped upon the Driscos.

These examples of treachery having been followed by Alexis Noutza, Ali, who had reckoned upon seventeen thousand men, suddenly found himself without generals and without an army.

Till then Pacho Bey, who had boasted of arriving in sight of Joannina without lighting a match, had kept his word with the Divan. A single affair of outposts, at Krionero, was all that had hitherto signalized a war which it had been prophesied would be so terrible. But now fortresses were to be attacked, strongly fortified both by nature and art, and defended by Ali in person, who was resolved to hold out to the last by every means which rage and despair could suggest. Ali had for a long time conceived the idea of defending himself in his fortresses, and of destroying Joannina, which offered too many facilities for hostile approach. This determination he no longer concealed, as soon as he saw himself deserted by his army: a resolution which was strengthened and confirmed by the devotion of his adherents, who now rallied round him to the number of not more than eight thousand.

CHAPTER XIV.

Ali's means of defence.—Gives up Joannina to pillage.—Misery of the inhabitants.—Arrival of Baba Pacha.—Ismaël appointed Pacha of Joannina.—Ali excommunicated.—Desertion of Odysee.—Discontent of the Turks.—Ismaël's policy.—Fate of Ali's three secretaries.—Proposals to Vely.—Vely capitulates.—His honourable treatment.—Mouctar surrenders the town of Argyro-Castron.—Hussein's noble address.—Ali's coolness.—Baba's sudden death.—Ibrahim and his son liberated.—Ali's affected disinterestedness.—Ali's firmness.—Dissensions between the Turks and Christians.—Change in Ali's person.—Displeasure of the Sultan.—Joannina closely blockaded.—Ali's plan for a general insurrection.—Ismaël deprived of the chief command.—Churchid appointed his successor.—General insurrection of the Greeks.—Ali makes a sortie.—Churchid negotiates with Ali.—The English supply the Turks.—Ali and his sons.—Insurrection of the Moraites.—Ali's sons betrayed.—Mouctar and Vely strangled.—Ali's *sang-froid*.—Ali at bay.—Churchid reinforced.—Ali opens a negotiation.—Desertion of Caretto.—Ali retreats to the citadel.—Ali's confident Selim.—Churchid's proposals to Ali.—Ali accepts them.—His reception.—Ali undeceived.—Selim assassinated.—Ali's death.

ALI's means of defence were still formidable. From the bosom of the lake, the waters of which wash the inaccessible base of that part of the Pindus called Mount Mitchikeli, rises an isle containing seven monasteries and one village. These Ali had lately replaced by a fortress and maga-

zines containing his warlike stores. At the farther end of the *terra-firma*, separated from the town by a navigable strait, is a vast fortress overlooked by the Castle of the Lake, whence Ali commanded the entire range of Joannina. These castles, now become the refuge of the despot of Albania, were fortified with two hundred and fifty pieces of cannon. It is true, that, by the desertion of his army, he was reduced to the defence of his fortified capital; but he still remained master of the navigation of the lake, by means of a small squadron of gun-boats, manned by Greeks from Corfu.

As soon as the Turkish army was perceived encamped upon the Driscos, the anxiety of the inhabitants of Joannina was not only to preserve their families and property from the savage hordes which surrounded them, but also from Ali and his satellites. The lake instantly swarmed with boats filled with the wives and children of the first families, directing their course towards Zagori, by coasting along the shores which the Turkish army had not yet outflanked. The majority of the inhabitants either buried their riches, or had recourse to emigration. Irritated at this sight, Ali allowed his faithful Arnauts the pillage of a town, which he could no longer preserve, and which it was even his interest to destroy. Temples, private dwellings, and public buildings, immediately became the prey of a wild and law-

less soldiery. Treasures, altars, and sanctuaries, were all equally exposed to their unbridled fury ; while the privacy of the harem and public baths was invaded, and their unfortunate inhabitants subjected to all the horrors of brutal violence ;— Mahometans and Christians were alike the object of their rage : there was no distinction.

Even the tombs of the Archbishops were forced open, and pillaged of the sacred relics they contained. Gold, jewels, and rich merchandize, all became the object of pillage ; and from the midst of this devoted city, which on every side presented the picture of desolation, rose loud outcries of anguish and distress, mingled with the shouts of those who were defending their domestic hearths against their merciless destroyers. The churches even were stained with the blood of these wretches, who disputed among themselves for the sacred vessels and lamps, which were of silver gilt. To all these horrors succeeded one still greater. After the Arnautes had glutted themselves with plunder, upon an appointed signal, a most furious cannonading, accompanied with horrid outcries, announced the destruction of the city. Showers of bombs, grenades, and fire-balls, carried devastation, fire, and carnage, into the different quarters of Joannina, which no longer presented any other appearance but that of one vast conflagration. Seated upon one of the bastions of his Castle of

the Lake, Ali himself directed the cannonade, pointing out the spots which the flames had not yet reached. At his voice, the fire from the artillery redoubled with the utmost fury. In two hours, bazars, bezestans, public baths, mosques, and private dwellings, were overwhelmed by an all-devouring sea of fire.

Escaping from the progress of the flames, the Joanniotes, having in their rear men half-burnt, or otherwise wounded, women carrying their children, and old men bending beneath the weight of years, succeeded in gaining the fortified enclosure. Scarcely had they passed it when they were attacked by the outposts of the Turkish army. Far from protecting these unfortunates who had fled from fire and carnage, the Rumelian hordes rushed upon the defenceless citizens, pillaged them, and tore the children from the embraces of their imploring mothers. A cry of terror and despair gave the signal of alarm to their companions behind, and the mass of the population immediately dispersed. But where could they find a refuge? Those who escaped the Turks were stopped in the defiles by the needy and rapacious mountaineers, who completed their spoliation.—The extremity of distress frequently rouses the weaker sex to uncommon exertions of physical and moral energy; women, carrying their children at the breast, traversed the chain

of Pindus, and in a single day performed the journey from Joannina to Arta : many seized with the pangs of childbirth, expired in the recesses of the forests : young virgins, that they might not fall the victims of lust, disfigured their native charms with dreadful gashes, as in the time of the ancient martyrs, and sought for refuge in gloomy caverns, where many perished with misery and hunger. The defiles and roads were strewn with the wounded and dying ; and traces of the ruin of Joannina presented themselves throughout all Epirus.

The Turkish army, whose only share in these latter events had been the pillage of the unfortunate Joanniotes who had escaped the conflagration, waited for Baba Pacha, who arrived with his troops on the 19th of August. The next day Pacho Bey decamped, and marched towards the ruins of the capital of Epirus ; they were yet smoking when he made his entry through the gate of Perilepti. Having had his tent pitched out of cannon range, and having read aloud the firman which conferred upon him the titles of Pacha of Joannina and Delvino, he set up the tails, the emblem of his power, and took the title of Ismaël Pacha. From the height of his towers, Ali heard the acclamations of the Turks, who saluted the new Pacha with the names of *Vali* and *Gazi*, or the *victorious*. The Cadi immediately read the sentence which declared Ali

outlawed and deprived of his dignities : a Marabout, or Turkish priest, then threw a stone towards the fortress to which the outlaw had retired ; and the anathema against the *black Ali*, now for ever cut off from orthodox Musulmans, was repeated by all the bystanders, with cries of *Long live the Sultan Mahmoud ! So be it, Amen.* Loud shouts, and a brisk fire from their guns and mortars, was the reply made by the besieged to the acclamations of the Turkish army, whose thunders were too impotent to reduce two fortresses so well fortified, and served by artillerymen selected from the different armies of Europe. At the same time the small squadron of Ali, gaily decked out with all their colours as on a fête day, manœuvred about the lake in sight of the Turks, whom they saluted with bullets, as soon as they appeared inclined to approach the shores of the lake. Ali's garrison which was about eight thousand strong, was composed of Dgedges, Toskides, and Franks or Europeans, all firmly devoted to him. An easy communication between the fortresses was kept up by means of their batteries. The Castle of the Lake, to which Ali had retired, was provisioned for more than four years, and had supplies of ammunition and warlike stores fully ample for a long and obstinate defence. Neither could water ever be wanting, as the castle was situated in the midst of a lake which abounded

with fish and aquatic fowls. Besides, Ali was master of the navigation, and the influence of his gold, operating upon the avidity of the peasants, would, in spite of all opposition, ensure him fresh provisions so long as a sheep or a goat was to be found in Epirus. His resolution was strengthened when he contemplated the martial figures who surrounded him, and who, having promoted the rebellion, could expect no quarter if once they fell into the hands of the Ottomans. Their cause was therefore identified with his own. The Satrap easily imagined that, amongst so numerous a garrison, many soldiers, accustomed to a desultory warfare, might be dissatisfied with the restraint imposed upon them by the nature of the service, and only awaited an opportunity to desert. This disposition he turned to his own advantage: he caused a list of the discontented to be drawn up,—it was numerous. Fifteen hundred of them he intended for a sortie, and ordered their full pay to be given them: and having afforded Odyssee, their chief, the means of entering into communication with Ismaël Pacha, he opened his gates to them. Scarcely had they arrived in sight of the Turkish head-quarters, when their chief, bending his knee, saluted Ismaël Pacha with the title of *Vali* and *Gazi*. The deserters were immediately received with military acclamations, complimented upon their resolution, and had a spot assigned them for bivouacking apart from the rest. Ali

having thus succeeded in his first object, which was to get rid of dangerous troops, soon rendered them suspected by the Ottomans, naturally jealous of the Albanians. Every day the latter were subjected to fresh humiliations. Odyssee increased their troubles still more, by suddenly withdrawing himself. They lost all traces of him in the mountains, whence he gained the Isle of Ithaca. The Armatolis, whom he had deserted, becoming more and more the objects of suspicion to the Turks, at length dispersed themselves through the mountains in the rear of the Ottoman army, which from this time they continued to harass by their incessant depredations.

It was now near the close of September, and the besiegers, who had neither heavy artillery nor engineers for commencing the siege in form, saw their provisions, which were brought by Greeks from Thessaly, daily diminishing. Want already began to make rapid strides throughout the camp. The Turks began to murmur, and exhibited symptoms of discontent, and even of sedition. Some of their chiefs accused Ismaël Pacha of too great a love of power, and even of affecting sovereignty itself. An opportunity was eagerly sought after of rendering him an object of suspicion to the Divan. He felt his critical situation, and as he was aware of his incapability of effecting Ali's fall by force of arms, he found it necessary to accelerate it by political intrigues. He first set on foot separate negotiations in order to in-

duce Ali's two sons to submit. Vely was entrenched in Preveza, and Mouctar still occupied the fortress of Argyro-Castron: Ismaël offered, to both, advantageous terms of capitulation under his own hand.

Whilst carrying on this double negotiation, he endeavoured to confirm the Divan in its hopes of being the eventual heir to Ali's treasures; and in order to engage it to wait more patiently, he proposed in the interval to put the Grand Seignior in immediate possession of all the real estate belonging to Ali and his family. It was necessary first to know the amount of their funded wealth, and the value of their flocks, the revenues of which were estimated at nearly 480,000*l.* sterling. To obtain this, the Divan required that Ali's three principal secretaries of state, who had been made prisoners, should be sent to Constantinople, in order to be interrogated and examined. But here the Grand Seignior's interest clashed with that of his generals. All examination was impossible, for it had so happened, that Colovo, after undergoing the torture, had died at Athens in consequence of his sufferings; that Mantho, who had betrayed his master, had been assassinated at a feast; and that Stephani, Ali's third secretary, had terminated his days in prison. The Turkish generals could, therefore, only send their heads salted to Constantinople, accompanied by several sacks full of ears. To these *spolia opima*, was also

added a carriage which Ali had purchased of General Berthier. A certificate signed by the Cadi, was forwarded with them, attesting *that as the secretaries of the Black Ali had died with terror, upon being commanded to appear before the Sublime Porte (Bab Houmayoum) of the glorious Sultan, their heads had been sent instead of their persons.*

In order to cover any irregularity there might be in these proceedings, the Seraskier continued his negotiations with Ali's sons. Vely, whom we left blocked up in one of the castles at Preveza, was making a courageous stand against the Souliotes, when he received a despatch from his ancient friend, Ismaël Pacha. The despatch enclosed a firman, by which his highness nominated him Pacha of Saint-John of Acre, provided he ceded the place, which he now held, and immediately went on board the Captain Pacha. This unhopcd-for proposal could not have come more opportunely. But could he trust to a capitulation in a country where the absolute prince never respects the promise made to a subject? Was Ismaël Pacha a friend upon whom he could rely? While in this state of doubt and irresolution, young Selim, whose personal beauty was heightened by the excellence of his disposition, throwing himself at his father's feet, implored him to take pity on his brother, Mahomet Pacha, who was already a prisoner on board the Captain Pacha. His tears determined Vely—the capi-

tulation was accepted ; Preveza was immediately given up to the Porte's officer, by Vely, who at the same time, protested his unbounded attachment and fidelity to the Grand Seigneur.

Vely, upon reaching the Captain Pacha's vessel, was received with marks of the profoundest respect. His eldest son was restored to his embraces, and all the honours due to his rank were scrupulously paid him, so much so, that the vessel sailed into the bay of Gomerizzi purposely that he might be near his brother Mouctar, with whom he entered into correspondence.

The family of Ali Tepelini was fated to fall without glory. Mouctar having received with his brother's letter, announcing the reduction of Preveza, a firman, by which he was nominated Pacha of Kexthaye, in Asia Minor, with a promise of pardon, gave up the citadel of Argyro-Castron without firing a shot. As a passport and escort had been granted him, that he might proceed by land to Constantinople, he himself proposed taking with him his brother Sely Pacha, who had also been promoted to one of the Sangiacats of Anatolia. He afterwards wrote to his son, Hussein Pacha, who was at Tepelini, ordering him to deliver up that place to the Grand Seigneur's officers, and to follow him after he had performed that act of submission.

But Hussein, having assembled the Toskides, thus addressed them :—" My father, my uncles,

my cousins, and all who have been honoured by my grandfather's confidence, have betrayed it—shall Hussein Pacha do the same?" At these words the Toskides unanimously exclaimed, that they would all perish sooner than betray their master's grandson.

Ali was ignorant of the magnanimous resolution of Hussein, when he received the news of the defection of his three sons, for Sely Bey had also submitted. Preserving an admirable tranquillity in the midst of so many reverses, he contented himself by saying, "That he had been for a long time persuaded that his sons were unworthy of their race." He himself communicated the alarming intelligence to his garrison. "From this day," said he to his chiefs and soldiers, "the brave defenders of my cause are my only children and heirs." After this short but pithy harangue, he kept up a furious cannonade against the Turks, which lasted during the greater part of the night.

In the mean time the Turkish army had manifested the greatest enthusiasm at the news of the submission of Ali's sons; and mortars and cannon having arrived at the camp of Ismaël Pacha, he immediately opened the trenches before the castle. Scarcely had the balls begun to batter the grand seraglio of Litaritza, when the Turks loudly demanded to be led to the escalade. This ardour, less the result of a warlike feeling than of a desire

to plunder the treasures of Ali, much disconcerted the Seraskier, who had intended to terminate the war in a very different manner; being anxious to preserve Ali's riches from the pillage of his soldiers, that they might increase his own and the Sultan's treasures. To restrain, therefore, in some degree the impetuosity of his troops, he represented to the principal officers the extreme folly of attacking sabre in hand a fortress defended by so many cannon, under the whole fire of which they would be obliged to march, without being covered by any fortifications. The ground was also quite exposed, no breach had yet been made in the place, and they had not even obtained a position from which to keep up a fire of musquetry on the besieged.

These objections, disseminated throughout the camp by the Seraskier's agents, did not, however, put an end to the murmurs. It was found that Baba Pacha, whose thoughts were solely occupied with pillage, was the promoter of these discontents; that he permitted his troops to pillage; and that at length, to consummate his bold insubordination, he had entered into a correspondence with Ali. It would have been the height of imprudence to have punished the Bulgarian in the midst of his hordes. But his sudden death left room for suspicion that Ismaël Pacha had despatched him by poison: a method very generally adopted in Turkey when the use of the fatal cord

is, from circumstances, deemed impolitic. An inventory being taken of his spoils, amongst them was found treasure amounting to about 60,000*l.* sterling. It was immediately sent off to the Grand Seignior.

Ismaël Pacha, having thus got rid of his antagonist, began in his turn to form intrigues in the garrison of the Castle of the Lake. He succeeded in sowing discord between Ali, the Dgedges, and the Toskides, who were dissatisfied with seeing the aged Ibrahim Pacha, formerly their Vizier, still dragging on a miserable existence in irons: they loudly demanded his liberty. Ali, whom fortune now subjected to the severest trials, consented to set Ibrahim and his son at liberty, whom he immediately released from their dungeon. The seditious soldiers next insisted upon an advance of pay. Ali immediately increased it to about 4*l.* a month, and at the same time made a proportionate advance in the pay of his other troops. "I never haggle," said he, "with my family, my adopted children; they shed their blood for me, and gold is nothing in comparison with the services I receive from them."

But notwithstanding this affected disinterestedness, Ali, with his accustomed avarice, gave secret orders to his chief commissary, a Jew, to increase the prices of provisions purchased by the soldiers. But this fraud was soon discovered, and the indignation against Ali expressed itself in

songs, in which he was called *Ali the Retailer*, till at length, fearful of exasperating his troops, Ali abandoned his usurious monopoly.

The whole of the chances were not, however, against Ali. Ismaël Pacha found himself in a situation rendered still more difficult by the approach of winter. Already the early snows began to cover the summits of Pindus; and the different hordes of Macedonia, as well as the Spais of Thessaly, disbanded themselves for the purpose of returning home. The Souliotes also, to the number of seven or eight hundred, who had marched to the siege of Preveza, demanded, as the reward of their services, to be reinstated in their native mountains; undertaking at the same time to reduce the fortress of Kiapha, in which Tahir Abas, the most devoted of all Ali's satellites, had intrenched himself. But, whether Ismaël Pacha had secret instructions, or whether he himself feared the Souliotes, he eluded their demand. Discontent soon found its way among the Albanian militia. It was increased by the tardiness of the operations. The siege of the Castle of the Lake did not advance. It often happened that the balls were not of sufficient calibre to make an impression against ramparts constructed of solid stone, and that the artillerymen threw empty bombs, which the besieged returned well charged. For the purpose of procuring fuel, the Turks were obliged to rummage among the ruins of the town;

and provisions had become very scarce in the Turkish camp, as the convoys were generally attacked by the licentious bands of *Odyssée*. Dissensions broke out between the Turks and the Christians, and even the Souliotes, to whom had been assigned a distinct bivouac. The discontent became general throughout all Epirus. The exhaustion of magazines, devastation of villages, and total consumption of their harvests, made the Christians regret even the government of Ali. They already dreaded the success of a siege which would but increase their former misery, and render their chains still more galling.

On his side *Ismaël Pacha* flattered himself that he should overcome all obstacles, and finally accomplish the ruin of his rival. Thinking to transfix his soul with horror and alarm, he caused a fictitious report to be spread through his camp that his sons, who were exiled to *Asia Minor*, had been put to death. Whether Ali was now insensible to every misfortune, or whether the recollection of the defection of his sons had rendered him indifferent to their tragical end, his only observation was, "They betrayed their father; let us think no more of them." (¹)

To those who appeared bending beneath the shafts of adversity, he said, "Nothing but courage and perseverance can save us." To one who regretted his personal losses, he replied by recapitulating his palaces which had been burnt, and

his property which had been confiscated, at the same time artfully holding out to him the prospect of immense wealth in case of victory. His magnificent Palace of the Lake had now disappeared; the four hundred and fifty females who composed his harem now lived under *blindages*, where fever and the scurvy committed the most cruel ravages. Any heart but his would have been broken. But a gradual wasting, caused by the grief which preyed upon his vitals, was observed at times in spite of his stoical firmness. From being very corpulent, he became thin; the former fire of his eye was exchanged for a gloomy dull expression; and his hands, which were formerly plump and covered with brilliants, now resembled those of a skeleton. It is true, he still preserved his guttural laugh, the veil under which he concealed the workings of his soul; for he triumphed not only over his years, but over his passions, and even over Nature herself. He never gave way to sleep but when extreme fatigue forced him to take some moments of repose. Having then retired to the further end of a bastion, furnished with some velvet cushions, the remains of former splendour, he rested his head upon the knees of Athanasi Vaïa, while Ibrahim Saratch, who had been his post-master, kept guard at the door. He had reposed his whole confidence in these two men, who were the faithful and zealous executors of all his commands.

At daybreak, he gave audience at the entrance of his chamber, mingling with his soldiers, and joking with them about the anathema hurled against him. "They should rather call me *Elmas Ali* (the Pearl)," said he, "instead of *Cara Ali*; for where, at my age, shall my equal be found in the whole Turkish empire? The cowards! they shall regret me some day, and shall learn from the evils I shall bequeath them, of what the *Old Lion* and his brave soldiers were capable. They make war upon me for my treasures, but they shall only have them bathed in gore. A few months hence, and I will shake the empire to its foundations, while those who now attack me shall tremble in the very heart of Constantinople. Hated, abominated city! before he dies, Ali shall see thy palaces in ashes, and his wrongs avenged." As soon as Moustai Pacha had returned to Scodra, the Montenegrins, who had retired into their mountains, meditated fresh attacks. Seditious movements were attributed to the Servians, who had become impatient of the Turkish yoke. The Rumilie-Valisee, Achmet Pacha, received orders to quit Epirus for the banks of the Danube. In the midst of all this incertitude and alarm the siege proceeded very slowly. The good fortune which had conducted Ismaël Pacha to the gates of Joannina, now appeared to desert him. His undisciplined soldiers no longer respected his orders, and the whole army appeared disorganized.

More than five thousand bombs had already been thrown against the castles of Ali, without producing any considerable effect. Impatient at the length of so unequal a struggle, the Sultan addressed a *hatti scerif* to Ismaël Pacha, conceived in the strongest terms, in which he severely blamed his conduct and the inefficiency of his plans for reducing the rebel Vizier. Ismaël would have infallibly yielded to the difficulties of his situation, if the sage and prudent counsel of Drama Mouhamet Ali Pacha, his father-in-law, had not revived and supported his drooping hopes. They both felt the necessity of pushing the siege and obtaining some successes, in order to satisfy the impatience of the Sultan.

The line of blockade was consequently drawn in closer, and every engine was set to work to disseminate the seeds of treason and sedition amongst the garrison. In the intervals of the siege, the soldiers of both parties frequently conversed with each other, and made mutual exchanges: some even smoked together. Both Ali and Ismaël winked at this, from the same motive, that of being enabled to lay their snares more effectually. Ali, who was exactly informed of the situation of the Turkish army, by way of insult sent him sugar and coffee; he even offered to sell him provisions, that plenty might appear in his camp. But, under this affectation of indifference, he was meditating a deep laid plan. Find-

ing that his only safety lay in the general confusion of all Epirus, and even of entire Greece, he secretly urged all the Christian tribes to revolt. But a *nucleus* was necessary: his gold furnished him with the means of gaining over the Souliotes, and of these he formed his centre for a general insurrection. He sent them two thousand purses, about 40,000*l.* sterling, and gave them a letter to Tahir Abas, the commander of the fortress at Kiapha, ordering him to deliver it up to them. So secretly had this negotiation been conducted, that Ismaël's first intimation of it was upon receiving intelligence that they had already seized the pass of Romanadez. They thence marched to the borders of the Acheron. Tahir Abas, however, who had received contrary orders from Ali Pacha, refused to deliver up the fortress to them. Ali's object was nevertheless effected; for by compromising the Souliotes he obliged them to establish themselves in the mountains: there they united themselves to the Armatolis of the band which had been commanded by Odyssee, and to eight hundred Zagorites, whom Alexis Noutza had detached from the Grand Seignior's cause by exciting them to revolt. These insurgents, all being united, so harassed the Turks, that Ali, by this well-timed diversion, obtained sufficient time to organize one of the greatest revolutions that has ever arrested the attention of mankind. Ismaël Pacha, fearing the anger

which the Grand Seignior would naturally feel upon finding himself deprived of the treasures he was on the point of obtaining, used his utmost endeavours to recall the Souliotes to their duty ; but without success. “ Only assist me till the month of March,” said Ali to them, “ and the Sultan will then have so much upon his hands, that we shall be able to dictate the law to him.”

The Grand Seignior, being informed of the situation of affairs in Epirus, and of the change which had taken place in favour of Ali Pacha, determined upon depriving Ismaël Pacha of the chief command of his army ; and named as his successor Churchid Mahomet Pacha, an old man, but one who to firmness and decision of character added also great experience and a considerable share of cunning, which last quality rendered him peculiarly calculated to oppose Ali, and to terminate this long-protracted war.

He at first excused himself on account of his years and the weak state of his health ; but the Divan had no sooner assured him that he should have powerful reinforcements and the most ample powers, than the ambitious old man acceded to the wishes of the sovereign and his ministers. It was, indeed, high time that the conduct of the war was committed to able and experienced hands.

Already the rebel Vizier, whose resources were

now reduced to a few thousands of brigands, and to fortresses shaken by the thunders of war, contemplated from the heights of his towers the devastation of his country, and the progress of that vast revolt which he had organized. After an eighteen months' siege, Ali suddenly found himself, in the month of March 1821, supported by a general insurrection of the Greeks, which shook the Ottoman empire to its very foundation. We are at a loss to know to what we may attribute this important event: whether to the dark policy of Ali, or to some invisible and more powerful hand, which gave a simultaneous impulse to Montenegro, Servia, Valachia, Moldavia, and the Morea, or, in short, (which is the most probable,) to the revolutionary spirit so prevalent and active in the present day. Thus, the war against Ali Pacha was the prelude and introduction to this desperate and bloody struggle. It was impossible but that Ali, from his intelligence with the Greeks, must have profited, either directly or indirectly, from so powerful a diversion.

On Easter day he made a successful sortie; and about the same time the insurgents, who commanded the road from Saint Dimitri as far as Arta, seized a convoy of two hundred mules destined for the Turkish army; which was suffering very severely from want of provisions, and was also nearly destitute of cannon and ammunition.

It was under these difficult circumstances that Churchid Pacha arrived to assume the chief command of the army before Joannina. By the ascendant of his character, he easily succeeded in overcoming the spirit of jealousy and rivalry on the part of the Pachas who were placed under his orders. He even retained, as his first lieutenants, Ismaël Pacha, his predecessor, Mouhamet Ali Pacha, and Omer Bey Brioni, whose zeal had been sufficiently tried, and who was intimately acquainted with all the points of this tedious and difficult war.

Such and so great, indeed, were the embarrassment and alarm of the Divan, that Churchid did not hesitate to commence negotiations with Ali; especially as he knew that the Vizier had been particularly anxious to be reconciled to his sovereign. But Ali, informed of the state of affairs, and moreover fearing some snare, peremptorily refused all offer of accommodation till the Turkish army should be ordered to commence its retreat. Such a condition could not be named to an adversary like Churchid, whose firmness enabled the Turkish army to maintain its position. But how great were the difficulties they had to overcome! The greater part of the warlike tribes of Albania sought to take advantage from the war between the Turks and Greeks, and regain their independence: they remained in their valleys, but prevented all con-

voys from arriving at the Turkish camp. The English party at Corfu also availed themselves of the present posture of affairs, to supply the Turks at Preveza with provisions, stores, &c. at the most exorbitant rates. They were forwarded from Preveza under strong escorts to the camp before Joannina.

When Churchid had been recognised Generalissimo of all the Turkish forces in Epirus, and had organized all the different branches of the service, he observed that Ali's faction chiefly consisted of a number of chiefs of brigands, or Kleftes, who, dispersing themselves through the mountains of Thessaly and Livadia, endeavoured, wherever they went, to excite the inhabitants to revolt, whether Musulmans or Christians. The Kleftes, called also Armatolis, and who had been likened to the Spanish Guerillas, had all originally formed part of Ali Pacha's army. This extraordinary man had enrolled under his banners, without distinction of religion or nation, all the brigands and public robbers, and had inspired them with a love and zeal for his service, either by great pay, or by the ascendant of his genius. Thus, during the continuance of his power, the Kleftes, till then unsusceptible of discipline, had maintained the most perfect order in these mountainous countries. Acquainted with all the localities, no other association of brigands could escape their observation. The proscrip-

tion of Ali having first disorganized his power, and afterwards caused the breaking up of his army, all the chiefs of the Kleftes who had been connected with him, returned to their former trade and habits.

Ali had foreseen all these results, and had anticipated their favourable effect upon his cause: upon them were founded all his intrigues to foment rebellion; and thence the instructions which he had sent to his two sons, Mouctar and Vely, who were exiled in Asia Minor; for he knew that the report of their death was false. From the moment of their captivity, Mouctar and Vely began to correspond with the former soldiers of their father, and by secret agents to convey to them money and instructions, to enable them to take the field.

The connexions which Ali Pacha formed in the Morea were still more important, and contributed to the success of the insurrection of the Moraites. His secret influence procured them the advantage of having for their allies the Albanians who inhabited Argolida, Tripolitza, and the interior of Greece: by this means the Turks became more and more isolated; and he established a stronger connexion between the insurgents of the Morea and of Epirus. Since the month of June, the revolt had extended itself to Thessaly, Ætolia, and Acarnania. Churchid, being then alarmed lest the line of communication

might be intercepted or cut off, detached from his intrenched camp before Joannina three separate corps, who were to fight and disperse the rebels, whose audacity had now become unbounded. The first corps was commanded by Omer Bey Brioni, who marched upon Agrapha and Thessaly; the second, under the orders of Pliassa Pacha, was directed against Ætolia; and the third, conducted by Jousouf Pacha of Negropont, took the road to Acarnania. The danger might be overcome so long as Parga and Preveza remained in the power of the Turks.

The presence and manœuvres of the Captain Pacha, who anchored near Preveza, materially contributed to maintain the garrisons of these places in their duty. This position covered, on the side of the sea and the mountains, the Turkish army at Joannina and the operations of the siege. In proportion as circumstances became more serious, the most false and contradictory reports were spread by both parties. Sometimes it was affirmed that Ali was dead, and that the war would now be terminated, the cause of it having ceased to exist: at another time it was reported, that the Turkish army was in full retreat, or dispersed, and that Ali had re-entered Joannina. What gave a greater colour to this latter report was the progress of the insurrection, and some retrograde movements of the Turkish army.

Churchid, with considerable acuteness, dis-

covered the chief spring which set in motion the insurgents of Epirus. He communicated to the Grand Seignior his suspicions of the secret practices of Ali's sons. A Greek disguised as a dervise, who served as their spy, having been arrested at Constantinople, the correspondence of which he was the bearer betrayed their secret. The dreaded Capidgi-Bachi, commissioned to bring to Constantinople the heads of Mouctar and Vely, set forward immediately for Asia Minor. Ali's two sons were under strict *surveillance*—the one at Koustania, the other at Keissarije; both fell by the hands of the executioner.

In the interval Churchid, who had gone for a short time into Thessaly, re-appeared before Joannina. Having received strong reinforcements, operations against Ali were resumed. Cannon and mortars having arrived in his camp, the cannonade and bombardment recommenced. On the 24th July, the castle situated in the middle of the lake, and in which Ali was, took fire, and almost all his magazines were reduced to ashes. This dreadful conflagration, the cause of which was unknown, (the castle being out of the range of the guns,) lasted four days, during which time Ali exhibited an example of wonderful constancy and firmness.

Greater in adversity than he had ever shewn himself in prosperity, he was seen giving his orders, and providing for the general defence, with

admirable *sang-froid* and unshaken resolution. Amid the general distress, he deprived himself of all the luxuries, all the comforts of life; sharing his bread, his tobacco, and coffee, with his brave companions in arms, and being henceforth only anxious to live and die a soldier. The Greeks were charmed with his undaunted resolution and generous self-denial. The siege of Joannina was, next to the operations of their fleet, of the greatest advantage to their cause. The as yet invincible resistance of the aged and intrepid Ali had greatly contributed to favour the insurrection of Peloponnesus and the Isles. The report of his death, which was again spread in Churchid's camp, was only a stratagem to discourage the Vizier's adherents. The siege of the forts of Joannina soon become nothing more than a siege of *observation*. Out of seven Pachas, three had been detached to combat the insurgents of Albania and Greece. Churchid himself began his march on the 2d September, with a considerable detachment of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, amounting to twelve thousand men. After three different attacks, equally sanguinary on both sides, the insurgents lost all their artillery, and were at length forced to retreat in disorder. Churchid then took up the position called the *Seven Pits*, and remained master of the communications with his principal corps, which continued the blockade of Joannina. A Greek corps, which

was marching from that town to Ali's assistance, halted upon learning the defeat of the insurgents of Epirus; and about six leagues from Preveza took up a position, for the defence of which the Greeks were obliged to collect all their dispersed corps.

Thus, upon every point along his line, Churchid, who had been reinforced from Bosnia and Vidin, resumed offensive operations with the greatest energy. He solicited and obtained from the Grand Seignior permission to negotiate with the Albanian insurgents, and to use moderation with the Mahometan chiefs. But the Grand Seignior was inexorable towards Ali Pacha. The *Old Lion*, so he was called by the Turks, was now at bay, in great want of provisions, and daily getting rid of the superfluous numbers of his garrison, by detachments of from one to two hundred men, who dispersed themselves among the mountains and up the country. Ali, by his numerous emissaries, neglected nothing to foment the general spirit of revolt; he was lavish of his treasures. It is asserted, that he placed about 80,000*l.* at the disposal of the provisional Greek Senate of Tripolitza, and that in the instrument by which he made over this donation to them, and of which two Albanian chiefs were the bearers, he assumed the name of *Constantine*, and felicitated the valiant Hellenes upon the favourable turn which their affairs had taken. Although the *Old Lion* fought

only for himself, and not for the Greeks, it was very clear, that if he overcame his enemies, nothing but misfortune and ruin could result to the Ottoman empire. If, on the contrary, he yielded to the force of arms or the infirmities of age, it appeared impossible that Peloponnesus could longer defend itself against the efforts of the Turks.

Churchid did not fail to communicate these considerations to the Divan, whose entire confidence he had gained by the accuracy of his views and the energy of his operations. On the 13th of November he received a fresh reinforcement of Asiatic troops, which increased his blockading army to twenty-five thousand men. He was also furnished with power to call upon all the neighbouring Pachas to join his standard whenever he should see occasion. He now, therefore, made dispositions for carrying the forts of Joannina by escalade. At the same time, he manned and armed a small flotilla, for the purpose of attacking the Island of the Lake, which Ali was preparing to evacuate. Churchid announced to his soldiers, that the general assault would take place on the 20th of November. The reports which he disseminated with great ability, tended to produce defection amid Ali's garrison, and to induce him to enter into negotiations; for Churchid was particularly anxious to take him alive. In all the instructions which he received from

Constantinople, he was expressly recommended to direct his principal attention to Ali's treasures, which were represented to amount to an enormous sum, in specie, jewels, and ingots.

But whether from bravado, or from a wish to keep up the drooping spirits of his soldiers, Ali still swore that before the month of February he would plant the Greek standard upon the walls of Adrianople. But about December, being in want of every necessary, fearing to be deserted or betrayed, and pressed by the solicitations of his confidants, especially by his favourite Vasiliki, Ali at length resolved to open a negotiation. Churchid promised him that he would overcome the Grand Seignior's resentment, who still remained inexorable. Thus, after an eighteen-months' siege, and a most heroic defence, this extraordinary man, who had reigned as a sovereign over Epirus, was reduced to *bargain* for his life with the avenging ministers of the Ottoman Porte. It was not to be expected that so important a negotiation between two old men equally brave and artful should be brought to a speedy termination: it was suspended. Towards the close of December, Churchid, who had got possession of the Isle of the Lake, whether by force, or from its having been evacuated by Ali, limited his operations to confining Ali as closely as possible within his fortress. In vain had the rebel garrison given the *Old Lion* astonishing proofs

of a noble and generous devotion to his person. The termination of all resistance was fast approaching. In these desperate circumstances, Ali, whose troops were now reduced to only six hundred, had to regret the desertion of his engineer Caretto, a Neapolitan adventurer, who immediately, upon arriving at the Turkish camp, informed the besiegers how to direct the fire of their batteries with the greatest effect. The destruction of Ali was no longer doubtful in the Turkish camp, and at Constantinople. It might still, however, have been deferred, had not an epidemy, the inevitable consequence of a protracted siege, afforded Tahir Abas and Mouhardar Aga an opportunity of prevailing upon four hundred and fifty Albanians, who formed a part of Ali's little garrison, to open to Churchid the gates of the fortress of Litaritza. Ali was now reduced to take refuge, with about sixty of his most resolute adherents, in the citadel, a place very strongly fortified both by nature and art, and in which was the tomb of his wife Emineh. He had previously transported to this place provisions, his treasures, and an enormous quantity of powder, being determined to bury himself in its ruins rather than yield.

Having thus gained possession of the fort of Litaritza, Churchid immediately formed strong trenches from the points of Teke and Saint Maure, which completely surrounded the fortress of the

lake, and thus cut off the *Old Lion* from all hopes of succour. Thus shut up in his last asylum, with a handful of men determined to brave death, Ali had it notified to Churchid, that it was his intention to set fire to two hundred thousand pounds weight of powder, and thus blow himself up, if the Sultan did not grant him a pardon and his life. This was not a vain menace from a man who was more disposed to imitate the heroic end of the Caloyer Samuel and of Mustapha Bairactar, than the example of his own children, who had both fallen by the fatal cord : Churchid also knew that Ali kept, night and day, in his powder magazine, a Turk, named Selim, at all times ready to sacrifice his life, and who was always provided with a lighted match for the purpose of firing the magazine whenever his master should give the signal. It was upon this volcano, the fatal explosion of which a spark was sufficient to produce, that the *Old Lion* founded his last hopes. It was in this his purposed tomb that he had shut up his dear and devoted wife ; and it was here that he every night repaired to snatch a few moments of repose.

These circumstances, as well as Ali's intentions, being known, kept the besiegers at a certain distance from the fatal tower : their courage was not proof against the two hundred thousand pounds of powder, which would in a moment have destroyed the existence of thousands. In this

painful perplexity, Churchid, after having taken the advice of his council, had it announced to the rebel by one of his officers, sent with a flag of truce, that at length the Sultan had listened to his prayers and earnest solicitations, and had granted to the Vizier Ali his pardon ; that he had been empowered by the Divan to grant him a full and entire amnesty, provided he would immediately repair to Constantinople, and there prostrate himself before the feet of his master, who would be satisfied with this act of submission. That upon this condition his Highness would permit him to retain his treasures ; and that he might even, with a few followers, retire to any part of Asia Minor most agreeable to him, where he might end his days in tranquillity and peace. The Sultan's Seraskier added, that the firman of mercy was on the road ; but that previously to its arrival it was necessary that Ali should repair to the Island of the Lake, there to confer with Churchid in person.

In short, to give him a proof of the sincerity of his reconciliation, and a particular guarantee for his safety, the Seraskier consented that every thing in the citadel should remain upon its present footing ; that is, that the lighted match should still be entrusted to Selim, and the garrison continue in the same state.

Ali acceded to Churchid's proposals, whether he was blinded to his fate, or whether it was a

part of his destiny to fall by the same snares which he had so often laid for his own enemies. He embarked with about a dozen of his officers, and repaired to the Island of the Lake. The Sultan's Seraskier had ordered a magnificent apartment to be prepared for Ali in the same monastery of Sotiras where he was accused of having put to death Mustapha Pacha of Delvino. There for seven days Ali was treated with every mark of respect, and had frequent conferences with the Turkish generals, many of whom had formerly been attached to him. They continually assured him of the certainty of his pardon. Whether Ali was completely deceived, or whether he placed no confidence in the act of clemency and pardon, he still continued to form intrigues, and congratulated himself upon having accepted the first proposals of the Seraskier. His confidence also was increased by knowing that the fatal match was still in the hands of his faithful Selim, and that his treasures, placed upon barrels of gunpowder, would be blown up at the first signal; and that his head, without his riches, would be no gratification to the Grand Seignior, whose only object was his spoliation.

Such was the state of both parties, when, on the morning of the 5th of February, Churchid Pacha despatched to Ali, Hassan Pacha, formerly the Sultan's admiral, to announce to him that his pardon had at length arrived. The Seraskier

congratulated him upon it, and persuaded him to answer this proof of the Sultan's clemency by a corresponding token of his ready and perfect submission. He therefore proposed to him, first, to order Selim to give up the lighted match; and, afterwards, to command the garrison to evacuate their last intrenchments, after having planted the Imperial ensign upon the battlements; and that then only the Grand Seignior's act of clemency would be declared to him in form.

This demand immediately opened Ali's eyes; but it was now too late. He answered, "That upon quitting the fortress, he had ordered Selim to obey his verbal order only; that any other, though even written and signed by his own hand, would be ineffective with that faithful servant; and he therefore requested he might be allowed to go himself and order him to retire." This permission was refused him; and a long dispute followed, in which all the sagacity and address of Ali Pacha were of no avail. The officers of the Seraskier renewed to him the strongest assurances, swearing even upon the Koran that they had no intention to deceive him.

Ali, after hesitating a long time, encouraged by a faint glimmering of hope, and convinced that nothing could now alter his situation, at length made up his mind. He then drew from the folds of his vest the half of a ring, the other

half of which remained in Selim's possession : " Go," said he, " present this to him. and that ferocious lion will be changed into a timid and obedient lamb." At sight of this token from his master, Selim, having prostrated himself, extinguished the match, and was instantly poniarded. The garrison, from whom this murder was concealed, having had the order from Ali Pacha notified to them, immediately hoisted the Imperial standard, and were replaced by a body of Turkish troops.

It was now noon, and Ali, who still remained in the Island of the Lake, felt an unusual agitation, accompanied by extreme depression of spirits : he did not, however, suffer his features to betray the internal emotions of his soul. At this awful moment, with a firm and courageous countenance, he sat surrounded by his officers, who were for the most part desperately wounded, or worn out with fatigue and anxiety. Ali's frequent yawnings, however, proved that nature had not resigned all her claims upon him. But at sight of his arms, his daggers, his pistols, and blunderbuss, the stupor produced by over-excitement cleared from off his brow, and his eye again glistened with its former fire. He was seated fronting the door which led to the conference-chamber, when, about five o'clock in the afternoon, Hassan Pacha, Omer Bey Brioni, the Selihtar of Churchid Pacha, and several other

officers of the Turkish army, entered with their suite: the gloom upon their countenance was of direful presage. At sight of them, Ali arose with all the impetuosity of youth, and grasping one of his pistols—"Stop! what is it you bring me?" cried he to Hassan with a voice of thunder.— "The firman of his Highness: know you not his sacred characters?" (shewing him the signature.)—"Yes, and I revere them."—"If so," said Hassan, "submit to your fate, perform your ablutions, and make your prayer to God and to the Prophet: your head is demanded." Ali would not permit him to conclude: "My head," replied he furiously, "is not to be delivered up so easily." These words, uttered with astonishing quickness, were accompanied by a pistol-ball, by which Hassan's thigh was broken. With the rapidity of lightning Ali drew forth his other pistols, with which he shot two more of his adversaries dead upon the spot, and already had levelled his blunderbuss loaded with slugs, when the Selictar in the midst of the affray (for Ali's adherents defended their master with the utmost fury) shot him in the abdomen. Another ball struck him in the breast, and he fell, crying out to one of his Sicares, "Go, my friend, despatch poor Vasiliki, that these dogs may not profane her beauteous form." Scarcely had he uttered these words when he expired, after having killed or wounded four of the principal officers of the

Turkish army. Many of his followers had fallen by his side before the apartment was in possession of their adversaries. His head, having been separated from his body and embalmed, was the next day sent to Constantinople by Churchid Pacha. It arrived there on the 23d February; the Sultan had it carried to the seraglio, where it was shewn to the Divan, after which it was promenaded in triumph through the capital, the whole population of which, intoxicated with joy, were anxious to behold features which, when animated, had inspired so much terror. It was afterwards exhibited at the grand portal of the seraglio, with the decree of death affixed by the side of it. (2)

Such was the end of Ali Pacha!—of that “Colossus,” say the Epirotes, “who has disappeared from among a people whose ferocity he had considerably softened; and who, had his energies been directed by better principles, might have been ranked among the friends and benefactors of mankind!”

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

CHAP. I.

(1) page 5.—Perhaps all the mythological origins of the Greeks may be reduced to two families. The Inachidæ descended from Phoroneus, the son of Inachus, whom Plato names the first King of Greece (in *Timæo*), to whom Pliny attributes the glory of having first begun the great work of civilization, and whom (doubtless on that account) Acusilaus calls the father of men—(*Clem. Alexander, Strom. lib. i.*; *Pausan. lib. ii.*) The second family, as is well known, was descended from Deucalion, the son of Prometheus; and both dynasties derived their origin from the Titans. (*Apoll. Biblioth. lib. i. and ii.*)

(2) p. 7.—The fabulous tradition of the oracular power of the doves may, perhaps, have originated in the double meaning of the word *πελειαι*, which signifies *doves* in most parts of Greece, while, in the dialect of the Epirotes, it means *old women*.

(3) p. 7.—Justin, XVII. chap. 3.

(4) p. 8.—The ruins of Passaron still attest its former splendour and importance. The citadel appears to have been built

after the usual proportions of all buildings of that kind. On its western angle, facing the south, are the remains of a theatre, one of the largest and best preserved in all Greece. Its present elevation—for the earth is supposed to have accumulated in considerable quantities at its base—is about sixty feet. The upper range of seats, measured at its semicircular extent, is about three hundred paces; the chord of the arc, at its lower part between the lateral steps by which the spectators ascended to their seats, was eight hundred; and the distance from the middle lower bench to the orchestra, thirty-eight. This theatre was built upon a range of arched vaults, which were accessible till the earthquake which happened in 1809.

To the south of the theatre and the Acropolis was the lower town, surrounded by a rampart, and defended by a double ditch. Within this space are the ruins of the peristyle of a temple, a gate of entrance, and the forum, called by the country people *Bazard*. When M. Pouqueville saw Passaron for the last time, goats were browsing the wild plants which grew around the benches, on which thousands of spectators had been seated to witness the solemnities of Epirus, and to hear the immortal verses of Sophocles and Euripides. The echo which once resounded their plaudits, now only repeated the plaintive song of the laborious peasant. (*Pouqueville's Voyage en Grèce.*)

(5) p. 8.—Θύσαντες Ἀρείῳ Διὶ ὀρκωμότειν τοῖς Ἑπειρώταις καὶ ὀρκίζουσιν αὐτοὶ μὲν ἄρξουσιν κατὰ τὰς νόμους, ἐκείνους δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν διαφυλάξουσιν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους.—Plut. Vit. Pyrrh.

(6) p. 9.—Plut. in Vita Pyrrhi.

(7) p. 12.—The word Albania is said to be derived from the Alps, or Albes (*white*), because they are always covered with snow; but this is merely conjectural.

M. Vandoncourt observes—"The name of Albanians is derived from that formerly given to the inhabitants of the districts of Croïa, Tyrano, and Dakagino, and which the Greeks, who

call themselves *Αλβανίβιναις*, have preserved to them; for in their own language they style themselves *Arnautes*."

(8) p. 20.—The *Caratch* is a capitation-tax upon the *Raias*, or tributary persons who are not Musulmans.

CHAP. II.

(1) page 25.—The commissions of the *Viziers*, *Pachas*, &c. are never for a longer period than a lunar year; they are renewed at each *bayram*.

(2) p. 26.—By the Turkish Code, the child of a slave can inherit property equally with the offspring from a marriage by contract.

(3) p. 28.—The *Vizier's* word was *τρύνα* (*trúna*), a *hole*.

(4) p. 28.—Tous les enfans d'une femme avaient autant de marâtres que leur père avait d'autres femmes; chacun épousait les intérêts de sa mère, et regardait les enfans des autres femmes comme des étrangers ou des ennemis. De là vient cette manière si fréquente de parler dans l'écriture: *C'est mon frère, et le fils de ma mère*. On voit des exemples de ces divisions dans la famille de *Davide*, et encore de bien pire dans celle d'*Hérode*. *Mœurs des Israélites*, par l'*Abbé Fleury*.

(5) p. 30.—This generous man, to whom *Khamco* and her children were indebted for their liberty, was, in 1807, poisoned at *Eleuthero-Chori*, near *Salona*, by one of *Ali's* agents.

(6) p. 39.—The giving the *pelisse* to an unmarried woman, or a widow, is, among the Turks, a pledge of matrimony.

(7) p. 45.—As no pilgrim can be sent to Mecca, nor any presents offered at Medina, except the expenses be paid by money raised from the sale of property legitimately acquired, an inquiry was made into the estates belonging to Vely Bey Tepelini; and as it was found that Ali's ancestor had acquired his possessions by the pillage of a Christian, *the pilgrimage commanded by Khamco was never accomplished.*

CHAP. III.

(1) p. 53.—It is thus written *Ioannina*, but the Greeks pronounce it *Janina*, and the Albanians *Janine*.

(2) p. 53.—A MS. copy of this history M. Pouqueville obtained from the monks of the monastery of the Meteors, and from this MS. our present account of Joannina is taken.

(3) p. 54.—That part of Greece comprised between the Peneus, Achelous, and Thermopylæ.

CHAP. IV.

(1) p. 60.—It is the belief of the Dervises Bektadgis, that God is all, and all is God; and that matter being eternal, never had a commencement, nor will ever have an end. This was also Pliny's opinion. *Idemque rerum naturæ opus, et rerum ipsa natura.* *Hist. lib. ii, c. 1.*

(2) p. 75.—The articles were as follows.

1. All the territory as far as Dervigiana, inclusively, (about six leagues from Joannina) to be ceded to the Souliotes.
2. All the Souliotish prisoners to be set at liberty.
3. That Ali should pay 100,000 piastres as a ransom for the prisoners taken by the Souliotes. *Eton's Survey, page 377.*

CHAP. V.

(1) p. 88.—About this period he wrote General Bonaparte a letter, which was printed in the public journals; and when at Louroux, he assured the French officer commanding at Preveza, that *he was a most zealous disciple of the Jacobin religion, and was most anxious to be initiated in the Carmagnole worship*, actually believing that it was a new religion.

CHAP. VI.

(1) p. 114.—The nuptial crown forms a part of the marriage ceremonies of the Greeks. The priest places it upon the heads of the bride and bridegroom, and it is afterwards suspended in the best apartment between the images of the Saints. In case of divorce, these crowns are burnt; and should either party die without having contracted another marriage, on the day of interment, the nuptial crown is placed upon their forehead with much ceremony.

(2) p. 131.—The name given to the Greek monks of the order of Saint Basil.

(3) p. 136.—The Turks appear to have borrowed from the Romans the custom of signing their writings with a seal. The Viziers, Pachas, and the principal officers employed by government, have the duplicates of their seals deposited in the state chancery at Constantinople, by way of verifying the authenticity of their signature.

(4) p. 137.—About 2½ lbs. English.

CHAP. VIII.

(1) p. 191.—The Orientals are persuaded that every man has his *unlucky hours*. Thus the usual compliment upon approaching a man of consequence is, *May the evil which threatens happen to*

me! Na παρουμεν το κακο σου. In 1817, at the nuptials of Sely Pacha, Ali's third son, a Bohemian having ascended the top of the palace, precipitated himself into the court-yard, crying out, *Na παρω το κακο σου αυθεντη.* *Let the misfortune that might happen to thee be upon me, O Lord!* Both his legs were broken.

(2) p. 191.—This Greek, who was a native of Arta, received by way of recompense, the pension of an okke of bread daily. Such was Ali's liberality !

(3) p. 192.—Tax in kind—all trades are subjected to it.

(4) p. 193.—Among the ancient Greeks *αγγαρεία* signified the same as *δουλεία*, service, or handywork exacted of any one against his will.

(5) p. 193.—This string, composed of nineteen pearls, was extorted from a French marchand, who was induced to go to Joannina in 1804.

(6) p. 194.—The etiquette is now changed. Instead of giving presents, Ali exacts them. Secretaries regularly take account of all the presents he receives upon solemn festivals, and the audience chamber is only accessible to those who come amply provided with gold or precious stuffs.

(7) p. 195.—“Those who are strongly susceptible to electrical changes in the air, such as precede and attend a thunderstorm, will easily understand the effects of the Sirocco, as an increased degree of the sensations they experience ; and, in fact though I am not aware that the opinion has been held, there are many reasons for believing that the peculiarity of the Sirocco wind is chiefly an electrical one, and not depending either on temperature, an undue proportion of carbonic acid, the presence of minute particles of sand, or any of the causes which have been generally assigned to it.” *Holland's Travels*, p. 47.

(8) p. 196.—According to etiquette, the usual presents on these occasions are a pair of drawers and a couple of shirts. But his Highness, sometimes, is so condescending as to honour his hosts by being *shaved in their house*; this, being a particular distinction, must be returned by the present of a handsome water-jug, and *complete silver coffee-service*. Nor must the barber be forgotten, who is an important personage even at the court of the Grand Seignior himself.

(9) p. 196.—The *slop warehouse*, in which Ali keeps all the property accruing to him by inheritance, is at one of his country-seats. There, says M. Pouqueville, I have often seen him seated in the midst of old clothes, rusty swords, kettles, pots, and pans, superintending with profound attention the enregistering of every article.

CHAP. X.

(1) p. 223.—With a hammer she broke in pieces the diamonds belonging to herself and her beloved son; she burnt her *cachemires* and her most valuable furs; and forced the widow of Aden to lie upon straw-mats spread upon the ground. All the looking-glasses and other ornaments of her seraglio were destroyed, and the windows of her apartments were painted black. Every appearance of happiness was banished from her palace.

(2) p. 232.—The Cheik Jousouf, a native of Joannina, and about seventy years of age, was one of those ascetics who united a severe integrity with the most painful austerities. A straw-mat served as his couch, and bread and water was his only fare. His life was passed in prayer and giving alms.

(3) p. 233.—Jousouf's words were as follows; *Castiora erant muliebria earum, quàm os liguriens tuum*.

(4) p. 233.—It was with a razor that Chäinitza performed this horrid act upon one of her women, who was pregnant by her husband, a Gardikiote.

(5) p. 234.—The ghost of Emineh seemed perpetually to haunt him, as that of Agrippina did Nero: *Sæpe confessus exagitari se maternâ specie, verberibus furiarum ac tædis ardentibus.*—*Suetonius in Nerone.*

CHAP. XI.

(1) p. 243.—These islands have cost France more than fifty millions of francs.

(2) p. 261.—“I entertain no doubt of any kind, that his Majesty, connected with the treaty that took place at Paris the 5th November, 1815, (and possibly on grounds of which I am not apprised,) has come into an agreement that the city and district of Parga is, within a limited period, to be ceded to the Porte.” *Extract of a letter from Sir Thomas Maitland to Col. De Bosset. See “Parga and the Ionian Isles.”*

(3) p. 263.—Extract from the Convention signed at Joannina, on the 17th of May, 1817, by the British and Ottoman commissioners.

The cession of Parga and its territory to the Sublime Porte having been stipulated between the Court of London and the Imperial Court of Constantinople, through the interposition of his Excellency the English Minister at Constantinople, the undersigned, appointed Commissioners for definitively arranging the indemnities to be made to those inhabitants who may intend to expatriate themselves, for the property which they will have to abandon, as well as for the expenses of their passage to the Ionian islands, that is to say, Mr. John Cartwright, English Consul in the Morea, on the part of the British Government,

and Hamed Bey, formerly Silihdar Kiatily, on the part of the Sublime Porte, have agreed to the following articles :

1. The term of the cession of Parga and its territory shall depend on the realization of the aforesaid indemnities due to the inhabitants who may expatriate themselves; and the two Commissioners engage to devote to the accomplishment of this object their whole attention, and to proceed in it with zeal and activity.

2. For this purpose, after the signature of the present Convention by the two Commissioners, they shall repair, without delay, to Parga, to ascertain those inhabitants who may be determined on quitting their country; and to fix in an equitable manner, the value of the property which they may have to abandon, as well as the amount of the expenses of their voyage to the Ionian isles. See "*Parga and the Ionian Isles*."

(4) p. 264.—For these facts, as well as the extracts from the state papers, we have been indebted to Col. de Bosset's excellent work upon Parga and the Ionian islands, to which we refer our readers with much pleasure.

(5) p. 265.—Extract from the Memorial of the Primates of Parga, to Lieut.-Col. de Bosset, Commandant and Chief of the Government of Parga.

"What compensation could be considered by the Parghiotes in the smallest degree adequate to the abandonment of their dear native soil, which they and their families dedicated their lives to maintain in freedom? and what situation could they find in the Ionian islands which might at all compare, in fertility and richness, with that of Parga? But, nevertheless, passively obeying the superior orders of the protecting government, they submitted with resignation, but with the deepest grief, to the adverse lot which awaited them, wishing thus to give a proof of their confidence in their benefactress the British Nation; and they all declared to you, sir, that they wished

to emigrate, that they might withdraw themselves from the atrocious barbarities to which they have seen so many of their neighbours subjected." See "*Parga and the Ionian Isles.*"

(6) p. 265.—See Appendix to "*Parga and the Ionian Isles.*"

CHAP. XII.

(1) p. 270.—In 1819 his palace at Tepelini was burnt down; but fortunately his treasures, being deposited in subterraneous caverns, were saved.

(2) p. 270.—Ali's family, in 1819, were Mouctar, Vely, and Sely,—his three sons. Mouctar had two sons; and Vely, three sons and six daughters.

(3) p. 270.—To pay his tradesmen, Ali would frequently draw bills at sight upon people on whom he had no claims whatever; but these draughts were always duly honoured.

CHAP. XIII.

(1) p. 285.—It being the policy of the Porte to overlook, for the present, Ali's conduct, it had appointed Mouctar to be Beglier Bey of Berat.

(2) p. 297.—Paleopulo's gun, which was of an enormous calibre, was as much celebrated throughout Epirus, as the sword of Roland was famous among the Troubadours.

(3) p. 299.—The following is the account of this circumstance, as related in a letter dated Constantinople, April 1820. We extract it from "*The Star*" newspaper. "An affair has just occurred here which has caused a great deal of noise. Two Albanians rode briskly up to the door of the Grand Seignior's Chamberlain, Pacho Bey, and on the Chamberlain looking out at his window to know what they wanted, they both fired their pistols at him. The balls whizzed past the Bey's head, but fortunately without touching him. The assassins instantly scampered off at full gallop by the road to Adrianople.

A well-mounted party was in a few minutes in pursuit of them ; and at a village about sixty miles off, they came up with one of the fugitives, whom they seized and brought back to Constantinople ; the other effected his escape. The Albanian in custody refused, at first, to say a word in explanation of the extraordinary and daring adventure in which he had been engaged ; but, on being put to the rack, he confessed what was generally believed the case, that he and his companion had been hired by the famous Ali Pacha to murder Pachó Bey.

“ The fact, I understand, is, that this is only one of many machinations on the part of Ali Pacha to take away the life of the Chamberlain, against whom he appears to have conceived an inextinguishable hatred. The history of Pachó Bey, for years past, has been nothing but a narrative of hair-breadth escapes from the vengeance of his persecutor. At one time, by means of bribery and intrigue, Ali contrived to procure a sentence of death from the Porte against him, to escape which Pachó Bey fled into Egypt, from the Viceroy of which he received protection.

“ While residing at Alexandria, some Albanian mariners called on him, and solicited his advice, as a countryman, as to the disposal of some goods, which, they said, they had just brought into the harbour, and which they wished him to go on board their bark to inspect. Pachó had learnt by this time the danger of being too confident ; he sent a person to make a private survey of the Albanian vessel, who reported, that instead of being laden with goods, she was all in sailing trim, ready to start at a moment's notice. Pachó, of course, declined the friendly invitation of his countrymen, who, finding themselves balked in their too obvious design, left the port with all possible expedition. The circumstance coming to the ear of the Viceroy, so strengthened the interest which he had taken in Pachó Bey, that he applied in his behalf to the Grand Seignior, from whom he has obtained a revocation of the sentence of death, and permission to Pachó to return to Constantinople, where he has since resided.”

CHAP. XIV.

(1) p. 333.—When M. Pouqueville once represented to Ali that his conduct would, sooner or later, draw upon him the resentment of the Grand Seignior, he said—“ *I was born in a hut ; I passed my youth under the Capot ; and if necessary, can end my days as I began them.*” Upon its being remarked, how difficult it was to forget ease and grandeur, he replied,—“ *You know not of what I am capable.*” Of his sons, he one day said—“ *If they survive me, they will dissipate all my wealth, and afterward get hanged like so many fools. Poor Ali Pacha, you have only reared chickens !* φεν, καίμνε Αλι Πασσά, έτρεψες κοτταίς !

(2) p. 356.—The following is an extract from the letter of a correspondent.

“The old fool Ali clung to life, and was induced to come out of his powder-magazine by the entreaties of his favourite wife, and on the promise of Churchid Pacha, that the Supreme Porte would be petitioned to spare his life ; he was sent to the small island in the lake, where he had a summer-house. Hither Hassan Pacha, accompanied by a numerous suite, guards, &c., repaired to pay his respects ; after a very friendly meeting, in which Ali was desired to communicate all his future wishes, they rose to separate, and, as there is great ceremony among Pachas of equal rank making obeisances, &c., it would appear that the old Pacha was not so active in recovering himself as the young one, who took that opportunity of thrusting his dagger into him ; Ali attempted to return the compliment, but the blow was too well given, and he died immediately. The guards who were on the outside of the apartment had a little skirmishing among themselves ; but it was over as soon they knew that the chief was no more.”

THE END.

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